Ross Dowson archives – correspondence – Year 1966
See Montreal correspondence & Edmonton correspondence (below)

01_27	Letter to Comrades (circular), re: Castro's attack on the Fourth International and Trotskyism; the IS's response, top item of discussion in the US (United Secretariat); LSA and FPCC to discuss before issuing statement
03_22	+Letter to Ruth & Reg (Bullock, Vancouver): our mistake in accepting roles in Seattle SWP debates in the past; Seattle branch disloyal to SWP?
04_30	Letter to Comrades Pi-Lam & Shu-Tse, re: error in international donation; May Day in Canada
05_00	**"The N.D.P. hardens,"** by P. Kent (R.D.); a review of the application of our central orientation
05_30	Letter to Dick (F), Victoria BC, re: report of convention; tour to the East preparing to leave
06_02	Press release: Ross Dowson announces intention to speak in Allen Gardens
06_19	Leaflet: "Fight fascism by fighting big business, strengthen labor and its party" (for Allen Gardens speech by R.D.)
07_21	Letter to Comrades in Ottawa, re: offer to assist in buying a duplicating machine
08_02	Letter to Dick P., Vancouver, re: upcoming antiwar demonstration; Fair Play for Cuba; Alexander Cttee.; *Vanguard* sales, rail actions, Quebec
08_30	Circular Letter (?) to "Dear Friend:" re thank you for support for the Russell Foundation and explaining our sharp critique of the NDP leadership
09_07	Letter to Dear Anne and George (--?): seeking location for an educational conference of 60 persons
09_23	Letter to Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, London England: re difficulty of a petition in Canada; list of references & addresses including *Canada-Vietnam Newsletter*
09_26	Letter to Tom (Kerry?), ISR (SWP): troubles with our printer in Toronto and permission given to publish a Canadian article

11_09 Circular Letter to Comrades: decision to launch the Russell War Crimes Tribunal petition in Canada

12_22 Letter to Allen (Van?): re necessity to retain a tabloid format and present name of paper

12_26 Letter to Ken, Ottawa, re: discussion of his union local work and relation to branch organizer work; conflict with Russell War Crimes work and coming tour by Gerassi, who is taking an ultraleft line

1966-99 Undated Resolution (RD editing, found in 1966 Fred Callaghan archives), re: flyer to CBRT-GW Local 89 members urging rejection of local leadership and call for unity through amalgamation

Montreal correspondence - 1966

01_07 Letter to Pat (Mitchell), re: Montreal branch personnel, R.D.'s article for YSF rejected; will the CP be the only representative of CCMG to run in the elections? Discussion on Quebec NDP and labor party question

02_08 Letter to Pat, re: our critical approach to the MLP Manifesto; final documents of world congress coming; question of a full-timer on staff in Montreal; evaluation of Mike (Mill);

03_12 Letter to Comrades, Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière: (draft copy) of LSA convention announcement; question of the Quebec document & question of LSA-LSO relations discussed by PC.

03_14 Letter to Pat (Mitchell), re: Pat remaining in Quebec; how the LSO should relate to the LSA convention; crisis in Toronto personnel situation, the Ottawa march

03_17 Letter to Pat (Mitchell), re: pressure on the Left Caucus, on LSA-LSO relations; the question of a Quebec section; the question of fraternal delegates from the LSO

05_09 Letter to Pat, re: Mike (Mill's) article on the PSQ

05_31 +Note to Pat (Mitchell, Montreal) re: *Perspective Mondiale* (Paris) now published and will help in Quebec work

07_17 Letter to Pat (Mitchell), re: relations with Mike (Mill).

09_12 Letter to Pat, re: she and Peter (Schultz) moving from Montreal; John S's father expelled from the CP

11_06 Letter to Pat, re: personal precautions necessary on breakup in branch; on the labor party question In Quebec; the Quebec NDP, Mike (Mill) in opposition

Edmonton correspondence - 1966

01_19 Letter to John R., Edmonton, re: YSF off the press; Anti-Vietnam war projects, Montreal developments

02_09 Letter to Dick (F), re: his critique of R.D. as a national leader

02_18 Letter to Dick, re: Toronto center activities; the Indian (native) question; reaction to Castro's attack on the FI in the SWP; Toronto conference on Vietnam; new Edmonton branch activities & contacts; the LSA-LSO relations document

06_07 Letter to Colwyn (W.); short notes re movement

06_13 Letter to Dick (F), re: Report of Mike Mill's resignation from the LSO; the LSO conference; need your help with journal.

06_99 Undated, found in June 1966) Letter to Dick (F), *Vanguard* now printed in sympathetic shop; lack of Quebec coverage; thanks for kind words – no "sacrifices" made; report on Quebec discussion and the future of the PSQ; assessing Quebec politics & unions

06_22 Letter to Dick: need for him to write up Quebec elections for *Vanguard* as well as for *La Lutte Ouvrière*

06_29 Letter to Dick: his article on Quebec good but too long

07_17 Letter (incomplete) to Dick, re; insert of next issue of *Vanguard* off the press; cuts to Quebec article; SWP asking for Quebec internal discussion; his reply to Mike Mill? LSO discussion on Dick's Quebec article; Mill out of LSO

08_10 Letter to Colwyn (W.): Alberta Socialist Caucus documents; setting up new branch in Ottawa; arrest of 4 comrades by Montreal police

08_16 Letter to Dick (F), re: Bob & Marilyn (R) in from Montreal with lots to discuss; work on Vanguard slow; setting up Vietnam neighborhood clubs; local personnel problems, Dick's article

09_07 Letter [pages 1 and 3 missing] to Dick, re: John (L?); our role in the railway strike and comrades in CBRT.

10_05 Letter to Dick, re: letter to Pat (Mitchell) in Montreal re developing a French-Canadian leadership; problems with new printers and typesetters; Dick's literary contribution on the Quebec discussion

10 _23 Letter to Coral (S), re: dues & pledges for LSA and YS, Edmonton finances

10_26 Letter to Dick (F), re: John L. on way there; your criticism of the last *La Lutte Ouvrière* and the success of the paper in Quebec; Ross's moves to salvage the *Toronto Vietnam Newsletter*; Ross intervenes in the Portuguese amnesty conference

12_02 Letter to John (L?), re: shipping books; comrades busy in (civic) election campaigns in Toronto and Vancouver

12_04 Letter to Edmonton comrades, re: *Vanguard* loses its printer again; John (R) and Art (Y) doing well in civic election campaign; Joan (N?) and Bea B. in Montreal to assist in civil rights campaign; the effects of Alan (E's) circulation of his document before the PC discussion

12_05 Letter to Joe (Burki), Entwhistle (AB?), re: the final day of civic election & the "sensational" youth campaign; the new HQ in Edmonton; Flyer draft Severin Ward 6 Toronto Board of Education, edited by R.D.

(Transcription of page 1 of a muddied letter signed R.D.)

To: Comrades, Jan. 27, 1966 *(Circular Bulletin)*

About a week ago we heard that Prime Minister of Cuba Fidel Castro in his closing address to the Tri-continental Congress on Jan. 16 attacked Trotskyism and the Fourth International.

The big dailies contained no word of this nor has the Tribune *(journal of the Canadian CP—ed.)* which had a correspondent there as of its Jan. 31 issue. We have attempted to obtain a Granma *(journal of the Cuban armed forces –ed.)* or Prensa Latina report but so far without success.

However a few days ago we received a copy of a wire that the Mexican section of the Fourth International sent to Fidel and yesterday a piece of correspondence from the United Secretariat of the F.I.

While we are still without a copy of the actual text of Castro`s speech and the correspondence from the US of the 4th is only preliminary material until within a few days we are to receive an open letter. We are dropping you this line so that you are not completely caught by surprise should others in your community have heard of this development.

The Mexican wire is a simple one in which the deny that a person named by Castro as a Trotskyist, a member of the Mexican section and who Castro says has charged that Che Guevara has been liquidated by the Castro regime, has anything to do with the Mexican section. The wire goes on to say that none of the groups or publications that Castro criticized and labelled Trotskyist have anything to do with the Trotskyist movement. In a footnote written to us personally they add that the heretofore mentioned person is a provocateur and has nothing even to do with the Posada groups. The preliminary open letter that the United Secretariat sent to Castro we roughly translate as follows:

(``) We have noted in Le Monde of Jan. 17 your polemic against 'Trotskyist elements who have affirmed in the capitalist press of Mexico, Guatamala and Italy that Guevara has been killed by the Cuban government.` We have also noted from an Agence France-Press dispatch of the same day attributing the same statement to a certain ALVAHUAN, who claims to have been a secretary of LT *(Leon Trotsky)* but is totally unknown to us.

…The FI has nothing in common with all sorts of irresponsible individuals and groups. It has never departed from a scrupulously objective attitude with regards to tendencies and governments that claim to be working class – above all in the case of socialist Cuba, we have tirelessly defended it wherever we have sections or friendly organizations.

We declare that we have never published nor have had any part in the publication of such calumnies as you have referred to. Our press handled the departure of Guevara in a totally different and in a very responsible manner…``

They refer to several items – ``You have, Comrade Castro – proclaimed more than once that the revolution must be guided by the truth. Your declaration against the Trotskyists has been carried widely in the world press. In the name of truth we ask you to rectify, to make clear that these accusations have nothing to do with the FI. The FI will always be at the side of the revolutionists of Cuba in their struggle for socialism and the LATIN AMERICAN REVOLUTION."

widely in the world press. In the name of truth we ask you to rectify, to make clear that these accusations have nothing to do with the FI. The FI will always be at the side of the revolutionists of Cuba in their struggle for socialism and the Latin AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

A note--- since then United Secretatiate has picked up a copy of the speech as it appeared in Prensa Latine. The bureau comments as follows on the text—

A reading shows that Castro not only referred to some articles but delivered a systematic and absolutely scandalous attack against Trotskyism and the FI. While he mentioned only in passing the assassination of Ben Barka-he delivred he made long references to various papers in order to attack Trotskyism and in terms which sharply recall those employed by Stalin in the period of the Moscow trials--agents of imperialism.....

This attack, it is true bases itself in general on irresponsible statemnts of posedasita publications and members of thosethose organizations. But on the one hand Castro is au courant with the differences and the divisions of the posedaists with the FI and on the other hand no matter how irresponsible the statements of the posedaistas they could in no way justify Castro's resorting to such an inflammantory attack

Castro's attack can only be considered to be a deliberate political act which testifies to an embarrasment on the differences with Guevara---"et qu'il faut placer avec le controle total des Sovietiques sure les participatns a la conference de la Havane, en meme temps que d'autres elemtns diferents (le maintien dans le discours de Castro de la ligne de la IIe Declaration de la Havane, l(installation du siege de l'organisme cree par la conferenc e a Cuba) pour donner une appreciation d'ensemble sur la conference qui vient de se tenir. "

This question will be a top item in the next meeting of the US.

As in our first reply our coming one it goes without saying willnot be of an irresponsable type such as the Posedists, that we will not modify the evaluation that we have made of the Cuban revolution but we will firmly stress the political significance of the position taken by Castro, sa mise en cause du droit de critique dans le mouvement ouvrier au nom de la raison d'Etat, les methods calomnieuses, la signification de "l'anti-trotskyisme."

This reply will be sent to you as rapidly as possible.....

This of course is a matter of major importance. It is going to make it even more difficult for us to carry out our duty of defending and popularizing the cause of the Cuban revolution in Canada--all the opponents of the Cuban revolution one of the main strengths of which has been its antiStalinist character will be grabbing down to this speech. It can have a devestating impact on the course of the Latin American struggle. It is important that no statemnts be made in the name of our movement or FPCC--the latter will be discussing this shortly and will make a statement in all probability very soon. Us the above information as a guide to an response yo may feel you are required to make should you be confronted with any questions re Castro's speech.

R.D.

(Dear Ruth and Reg)(Bullock, Vsa.) (March 22, 1966 Toronto)

I received your letter this morning. We are sort of getting ready for the big rush to Ottawa--but no one is around right now so I am seizing the moment to reply.

I am really sorry that I did not write you before about the Seattle situation in so far as it involves us. I am infact satonished to see that it slipped my mind. I came back with the decision in mind that I must write you at once.

I think that there are a couple of situations that have involved us with Seattle in the last immediate period that are quite different than previous ones over the previous years. There was one that quite startled me when I heard of it. Somehow I learned that Alan or could it have been Ernie had been invited down to Seattle to present the majority viewpoint just before the last SWP convention. Of course we are not separated by a wall of iron--most matters at dispute in the SWP are of considerable concern to us. I dont know for sure who initiated this incident but that is no matter as it seems apparent to me that it was wrong on both parts. If the majority viewpoint is not represented in Seattle it is the responsibility of Seattle to see that it is from the internal resources of the SWP. For one of us to take on this task seems to me to be unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of the SWP, somewhat arrogant on our part and certainly compromising of normal relations between sections of the world movement. I cannot see how New York can interpret Seattle's initiating such an action or acquiescing to it as an act of disloyalty. However this matter did not come up at the plenum.

Then there was another incident that I think you must be familiar with which also is quite different that previous experiences we had been having with Seattle --which had of course been very fruitful collaborations between members loyal to their respective sections. I think that all the details of this incident are familiar to you. Ernie wrote me about them at length and suggested that we should inform the SWP N.O. about them. For various reasons I did not do so. They involve some Seattle comrades, leading comrades, and their attempts to establish relations with Epton when he was in Vancouver. Since you are probably more familiar than I with the details I will not go into them. As you know no one in our movement is authorized to enter into relations with opponent tendencies without authorization and these actions by Seattle seem to me to clearly indicate a disloyal attitude to the SWP on the part of Seattle. It appears that Ernie sent some information on this incident along to New York-- it was referred to by Tom K in the majority caucus meeting held one evening during the plenum where the whole question of Seattle and Kirk came up.

But the item on the record involves the circulation of material by Fran k to comrades in Vancouver at the New Years affair. This material was the scandalous attack Kirk made against SWP line and conduct at the Washington conference. Of course such material must go through the normal channels of the SWP--to the PC- NC and if decided upon-the IB. One might accept the idea that in view of tradtional relations its circulation amongst our NC members might be overlooked but I was informed that non-NC members were handed copies, and not just Allan, but others. But regardless of what we think of this the SWP has rights in this matter also--it has the right to demand that Kirk and others recognize the legitimate channels that it has constructed for disvussion of differences and their resolution. They wrote me and asked me if Kirk had circulated his document

to our comrades. I answered them, after checking with Alann, that this was so and gave them our feelings about this matter.

Kerry made a report to the plenum and quoted my letter. Kirk validated the information and apologized for the incident. Although Frank circulated it he accepted responsibility, didn't even raise this fact. He made a blanket apology to the convention. This material along with other material led to Kerry making a motion of censure against Kirk which passed with no opposition.

I am not able to follow the developments with Seattle and others involving Swabeck. However John has only returned from the YSA convention in Chicago and I gather there is sustantial information to the effect that Seattle is pulling out of the SWP---it is possible that it has already pulled out and now feeling around to see if it can make any connection with forces in Canada. I do not know where they might be going---to Progressive Labor, to Wohlforth-Robertson.

I will as soon as finishing this letter see if I can readily locate the copy of the letter I sent to the SWP. Probably have only one copy.

Things are going very well in Montreal. Mike will be taking advantage of the Ottawa demonstration and the fact that Dick is also coming in from Edmonton to participate in an enlarged PC meeting. I will make a point of giving you a detailed report of this gathering-probably taking place this coming Monday.

This coming issue of the paper is going to be a little more delayed. We have now taken the decision to pull out of Merchants Press, after 21 years. The shop has been deteriorating which has no doubt been showing up in the paper and has been wrecking our deadlines. The old partner-ship has broken up and the one who took over has proven unable to run a serious business operation. Only one man on the stone last issue whereas heretofore there were three. And of course the lino type is demobilized when the stone needs some help. Prices are not as I feared qualitatively higher in the other shops we have checked--but the work is certain to be qualitatively better.

comradely

Ross

April 30, 1966
1 Cumberland Street
Toronto

Pierre Frank, Fi leader

Paris

Dear Co rades Pi-Lam amd Shu-Tse

I have just received your letter and hasten to reply.

I have checked up on our bank account and find that unfortunately we did not send the $100 sum that our letter mentions. We sent only fifty dollars. I wishwe had been able to send the larger amount but we did not.

I am very sorry for the confusion that this has caused. We just getting our annual financial drive underway so we were in a position to send various sums to various points that we had been intending to do for sometime. Alan H is now back here in Canada and so he took it on himself to write the varying covering letters to Ernest, and comrade Ernie in England etc. I think that in his letters he must have got confused and made this error.

Tomorrow is May Day and tonight we are holding a big banquet both here in Toronto and in Vancouver. And for the first time probably in the city of Edmonton in the Canadian west wwre we are just making some headway. I hope that Pierre and his friends are holding some kind of celebrationvand that you will you will the joy of their company. Jack Barnes of the south who I think you know is coming in to give the major address. This time I will be sitting back and joining in the general chorus. I should be working on the documents for our coming gathering.

I am very happy to see that the ISR article is getting around im impo tant circles. We can hope that it will correct the record.
Did you know that Harold Isaac's book is now out in a paperback edition?
Are any parts of your memoirs in condition to publish yet. We are coming into the fiftieth anniversary of the RR. I amsure we must be preparing something big for publication. I would be good if we had something on the impact of the RR on the revolutionary youth of China.

may day greetings

Ross

1966-May

The N.D.P. Hardens

(General line adopted by 1966 Convention of the LSA/LSO)

‘It happens quite frequently that individuals lose
their fortunes and even their ‘honor’ when playing
cards according to the rules of the game; but classes
never consent to lose possessions, power and ‘honor’
by observing the rules of the game of ‘democratic’
parliamentarism. They always decided this question
in grim earnest, i.e. in accordance with the real
correlation of the material forces, and, not the phantom
shadow of these forces.”

Leon Trotsky.

Organizational concepts flow inevitably from program. Thus the organizational concepts of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, of the Canadian revolutionary socialists who aim to establish a socialist Canada, to overthrow the powerful capitalist class that rules this country (which, when its time comes, will struggle with the extreme resourcefulness and ruthlessness) requires an organization built on the principles of democratic centralism — a vanguard party rooted in the working class and with a professional leadership.

So it is with the leadership of Canada’s labor party, the New Democratic Party. The politics of the social-democratic, the parliamentarist, the crass reformist leadership of the NDP determines their organizational concepts. It is in this area — in the area of organization — that the most important changes over the past five years since the party’s formation, have taken place.

Politically the NDP has remained firmly to the liberal-reformist course on which it was launched. In the face of international and national developments, some of which obligate it, regardless of electoral results, to speak out, and others which even create a favourable climate for it to do so, the NDP can only be said to have moved even further to the right.

The acid test is the war in Vietnam — which glaringly exposes the imperialist character of American capitalism, which has shocked world opinion with its bestial and genocidal character, and which, with its continued acceleration threatens to leap over into

China and even trigger a nuclear holocaust. Douglas, as party leader, has made one major speech — a year ago — which went little farther than the present opinions expressed by the Democratic Party "advisors" of the Johnson administration. The leadership has even undercut this for the record, tokenist speech by red-baiting the only real and vital forces of protest against the war and Canadian complicity.

The party leadership has said nothing about direct Canadian complicity, conducted under the agreements signed in 1958 as part of the NORAD pact (joint US-Canada North American arctic air defence system) which it has been committed to oppose since the founding convention.

The NDP was committed by its founding convention to campaign for Canadian withdrawal from the imperialist military alliance of NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) should it become nuclear armed. Even though NATO has long since become nuclear armed, and is now in profound crisis due to inter-imperialist rivalries, the leadership have not initiated any anti-NATO actions of any kind.

At the founding convention the leadership freed itself from any commitment to public ownership but presented the equivocal appearance of favoring it under "suitable" circumstances. The CPR threatened elimination of branch lines throughout the West and the curtailment of many runs, has roused widespread protest across the Prairies.

The Canadian Federation of Agriculture, along with the Alberta Federation, is urging nationalization of the CPR, and the Western Agriculture Conference is urging its amalgamation with the CNR. Yet the parliamentary leadership has had almost nothing to say.

Notwithstanding the utter falsity of giving primacy to the preservation of Confederation the NDP position on Quebec has moved away from its recognition as a nation in a two nation state. It now characterizes Quebec as a cultural factor in a two cultural nation.

That the purpose of this document is not to trace the political evolution of the NDP. For our purpose the notable aspect of the above is that it reveals political rigidity, a frozen, finished character in the NDP within a short space of five years and under the pressure of events which one might expect would favour its leftward evolution. The fact is that the formative period of the labor party can now be said to be ended.

It was this formative period, a period when the programmatic foundations of the party were being laid out, the structure formed, and the leadership sorted out, that the party could have been said to be in the greatest flux. It was in this period that there was the greatest possibility, given the overall conditions of the birth of the party, for the socialists to influence the party's future development. This stage has ended. And it is important to assess where the party is now at.

The area of organization is an important one for it determines for whole periods the conditions under which the politics of the party in the next stage will unfold.

The NDP was not launched and did not develop out of some broad popular actions of the workers and poor farmers. Its organization does not reflect any unity of diverse, vital, vigorous forces. It has been built in the cold manner, engineered; it is a political machine. While its political base is the working class, and its treasury the organized labor movement, as a machine it is not dissimilar from the bourgeois parties. Its conventions are not forums for the determination of policy but staged hoop-las, with the super build up of the personality of leading figures, etc. Its leadership is composed of a hardened clique of former CCF (Co-operative Commonweath Federation, predecessor to the NDP) parliamentarians and top layers of the trade union bureaucracy. What conflicts there were have been largely resolved. The few mavericks remaining such as Herridge have no base under them. Their incidental dissident comments are ineffectual and are not taken seriously by the party machine nor hold against it by the bourgeois opposition whose good-will the NDP has, and has so carefully fostered.

The party was constructed by the old CCF parliamentarians who had rid themselves of the former programmatic commitments of opposition to wars "designed to make the world safe for capitalism," and public ownership of the basic means of production, (the "Regina Manifesto") and who wished to become independent of the grass roots movement which in recent years had despite the defection of many of the best elements, continued to restrict their rnaneuverability. The CCF leadership had already forged strong links with the most sophisticated sectors of the trade union bureaucracy, and with the unification of the CCL-CIO-TLC- AFL (the new"industrial union" and old "craft union" federations) they visualized a whole new perspective, not the least attractive aspect of which would be the much wider resources coming from an independent source that would be available to the party. The coast-to-coast anti-union drive snapped any hesitant elements of the union brass into line until they are a almost without exception supporters of the NDP.

The old CCF brass and the new labor element did not come to their project with only the CCF experience behind them. They have long been students, observers, of the British Labour Party experience. Indeed it was not by accident that they had Richard Crossman come to officiate at the burial of the Regina Manifesto, and a few years later, the late British Labour Party leader Hugh Gaitskell, officiate at the birth of the New Democratic Party.

Gaitskell and his heirs are an encrustation on a mass popular movement with a long tradition. Over the years they have been struggling to bring it to heel, to pacify it, to turn it into a passive financing and vote gathering machine to fulfill their parliamentary aspirations. Their gravest concern has been the constituency labor parties, the popular base of the movement, in many ways popular forums of a wide spectrum of ideas from right social democratic to revolutionary socialist. (NDP leaders Tommy) Douglas and (David) Lewis learned all they could from Gaitskell and today sit at the footstool of the Wilson leadership. Social Democracy through them has brought to the New Democratic

Party of Canada almost none of the positive aspects of its early days and all of the negative features of its political decay.

The NDP was designed from the start by a hardened social democratic clique composed of CCF parliamentarians and trade union bureaucrats to be a political machine, to supply needed funds, and necessary campaign workers. Any tendency towards a "movement" composed of diverse tendencies where there would be a free discussion of programmatic questions is an anathema to this clique.

They are deadly opposed to a democratic labor party. Whether the new mass labor party had been launched on a liberal reformist program or not, if it were democratic, one could expect that, on the basis of the developing class struggle it would provide an arena for contending views and allow the party to find its way to the necessary revolutionary program. But this democracy has drastically declined. The democracy of the NDP has taken on more and more of the content of democracy in the bourgeois democratic state which the NDP leadership aspires to rule. It has become more and more a trapping, a fig-leaf, to cover over the machine. What the membership say and does is increasingly determined by the apparatus, the parliamentary leadership and the trade union brass who have more and more freed themselves from the base. That is where the real power is: not in the convention. It was no accident that the Ontario NDP convention, given the theme of Automation, was not a convention at all but a seminar — known jokingly as the Automated Convention. The brass conducted themselves in a manner not at all untypical of those whom they aspire to replace when they framed the expulsion law, after the charges had been laid and the expulsion a fact in 1963.

When we criticized the character of the 1964 Riverdale and Waterloo South campaigns, conducted according to the Stephen Lewis (Jr.) formula, as not building a movement, as "victories built on sand;" as far as the leadership were concerned we missed the whole point. So too were all the resolutions to the Regina convention, appealing to the party to programmatically demark itself from the bourgeois parties. Of course a non-programmatic campaign fought on the same basis as the bourgeois parties, that said nothing that would risk alienating an elementary protest vote against the disarrayed Liberals and Tories, that concentrated on a super-mobilisation of all possible forces for saturation distributions of personality appeals — would not build a movement. The leadership do not want a movement. Their concept of politics is to be as much like the bourgeois parties as possible to permit the easiest possible transition to the NDP. They are parliamentarians par excellence — leaders who seek to be free from all commitments, free to determine what is good and when it is good for the masses, for whom politics are much too devious and too serious a business for their participation.

Their policy is at the most to no more than make the record on the big crucial issues of the day. By this means they anticipate that advanced elements, with no other choice, will consider that it is at least worthwhile to go along. Their main ploy is to establish an image of respectability, of integrity and efficiency. To identify with such issues as opposition to Canadian complicity in Vietnam risks this image. Their gestures are

tokenist and clearly understood by the Liberals and Tories at this time as such and they are also agreeable to overlook them — they have their own interests in not making them partisan issues. The continued decay of the bourgeois parties, the scandals that are rife in them opens up new possibilities in their minds and convinces them of the efficacy of their "responsible" appeals. The party leadership have interpreted the last federal election results, which saw an increase in NDP votes from 13% to 18%, as a "breakthrough" — as "the emergence of the NDP from a splinter group to a major political force." The possibilities of success in this parliamentary game became even more apparent to them in Quebec where, for all their identity as a federal party, an English party, the NDP vote shot up 60% from its 1963 total — rose from 7.6% to 12% despite the fact that the party has no organization. At the beginning of the year there were only 500 NDP members in Quebec and at the time neither the CNTU nor the QFL (the two major Quebec union federations) supported the NDP. So confident in an ultimate parliamentary victory, they possibly also wished to evade a programmatic confrontation with the Lesage Liberals that they felt able to cynically ignore the current Quebec elections and casually talk of the next one. Laberge (leader of the QFL-CLC) made the fatuous statement that "we think that the day is not far away when the workers will take their destiny in their own hands through a truly popular provincial political party."

The Ontario leadership has expressed the conviction that the Ontario membership, already at last year's record, will be doubled — at 35,000 or more by Fall. The Saskatchewan membership, although the party suffered an ignominious defeat there in 1964, is at an all-time high of over 30,000. The Alberta section, always the weakest section in the West, has risen in recent month to a record 8,000 members. The NDP has been shown by the last elections to have an explosive potential in Quebec. Thus we have the anomaly that the membership of the NDP is in the ascendancy, that the voting base of the movement is widening, there is a distinct possibility that the party will win in the coming Ontario elections — and the party constituency associations are almost empty shells — electoral machines.

In 1960, on the eve of the formation of the NDP it was clear that there were no forces within it or coming up through it that could present themselves as a serious indigenous socialist tendency. We took it upon ourselves to intervene as effectively as possible in this formative period by presenting the Vanguard as the press of the socialists in the labor party. At the same time we attempted to present the LSA as the legitimate organization of the socialist wing in the NDP.

At our 1963 convention we said that "Our comments of 1960 that 'we are for a federated labor party, for the ISA to be recognised as an affiliate of the Labor party', in reality only expressed the aim and spirit of our orientation. The reality forced on us was the barring from membership of many of our leading cadre, and the imposition of a semi-clandestine character on our work in the NDP itself, and the perspective of the achievement of our objective through a whole process of expulsions, splits and unifications."

The 1963 convention met as a large proportion of our youth, who because of the looser character of the NDY were our most important active connection with the NDP, were being expelled in both BC and in Ontario.

The expulsions, and the fact as we recorded it, that there are no genuine native currents in the movement that have arisen on the basis of experiences of the movement in the class and holding any extensive possibilities for the left, brought out an opposition on the floor of the convention. Vancouver delegates Douglas and Percy announced their opposition to our whole orientation to the NDP. Since that convention the LSA has been officially proscribed both in BC and Ontario. There have been further expulsions and it would appear that there are more in the immediate horizon.

The document adopted by the 1963 convention, while not designed to do so, answered the opposition to our NDP orientation, in part. It pointed out that regardless of "the failure of the NDP to provide a broad milieu of work for socialists, and the witch-hunt expulsions of the majority of our present cadre — the party has a substantial and solid base of support, particularly in the ranks of organized labor. In the minds of the more advanced workers, on a basis of their present level of experience, there is no other course open to them."

This comment rings even more true today than in 1963. Support for the NDP has not declined. On the contrary. The number of trade union affiliates continues to rise. Last November's election showed an increase. If it can be said to have been modest on a national scale — 13% to 18% — it significantly was highest in the urban areas across the country, rising to 29.5% of the total Toronto area poll. We have no reason whatsoever to question the leadership's contention that support for the NDP is increasing. It would seem almost inevitable, if only due to the continued crisis of the bourgeois parties.

The document went on to comment on our "regular and sustained activity outside of and independent of the NDP, but within the framework of our orientation to the NDP" — the open work of the LSA.

"The LSA's orientation to the NDP makes it much more attractive a force than it would be otherwise. Our orientation to the NDP places our whole program in a realistic framework. Regardless of all of its shortcomings, in its overall significance the NDP projects the need for working class power. The fairly extensive layer of workers who, in advance of their class, have already a generally correct assessment of reformism find a small revolutionary socialist group unattractive — even though they may concede that it is theoretically correct — for it can offer little immediate possibilities of struggle. Their understanding becomes therefore largely passive, without perspective. Our orientation to the NDP, our projection as a socialist caucus with the aim of winning the NDP to a socialist policy makes us much more attractive and more capable of winning such forces to our side. The merits of our orientation from this viewpoint, which stand completely outside of what forces we may or may not actually have in the NDP at any given moment, must not be overlooked. Our NDP orientation places our forces, small and

involved as they are in what is largely educational work of even an academic character, in their proper perspective. It projects in broad lines the direction and possibilities of the struggle in the whole next period, thus heightening immensely our attractivity."

We have nothing to take away from this aspect of our NDP orientation. We never allowed the social democratic leaders through the previous expulsions to cut us off from those workers already in the labor party. We did not panic and adopt a sectarian attitude to the NDP, to the Canadian working class only still beginning in any substantial numbers to seriously think in terms of independent labor politics. We maintained our orientation. We sent new recruits into the NDP through which we were able to establish now connections with advanced elements in the class.

The NDP work of the revolutionary socialists has always been long range. It commenced with the dissolution of the CCF in conflict with centrist elements (largely in BC) who sought to hold onto the corpse and oppose the growing involvement of the trade union brass which they myopically equated to the trade unions themselves. The next phase of our struggle was to help assure that the new party would be a labor party, contrary to the efforts of a wide range of forces, from the New Party Clubs all the way to the Communist Party, to direct it into the morass of liberal-labor coalition politics.

In the entire formative period of the party we played down the independent and internationalist character of the League. We attempted with every resource at our disposal to enter into the policy debates, to popularize the class, the socialist viewpoint, to actually shape the policy of the party, in the seminars and in all the conventions.

But already at our last convention we were making adjustments in our work, completely within the framework of our NDP orientation. We recognised that the NDP was taking on a harder form, that room for maneuver was decreasing and that now opportunities to widen the base of the cadre, not finding reflection in the NDP, were unfolding across the country.

"Through such independent activities" we noted, we have been able to influence radical workers who are repelled by the cold war policies, the red-baiting of the NDP brass, who do not understand the NDP's class significance and our orientation — and new layers of youth who are moving left, not on the basis of experience gained in the arena of the class struggle in this country but who have been inspired by such developments as the Cuban revolution. With the continued crisis in the traditional left circles and the radicalization of the youth who the NDP does little to attract and quite obviously fears, the independent aspect of our work becomes increasingly important. Through it we can not only make immediate gains for our cadre but we are finding new forces for our NDP constituency work to substitute for those who have become marked and expelled."

What does it mean to say that the formative period of the NDP is ended? It does not mean that our work in the NDP has ended, but that our work has entered into a new phase when for the next period we do not visualize new radical elements entering into the

constituency organizations which themselves are going to continue to be less political and less responsive to any motions in the class and more and more involved in the mechanics of an electoral machine.

It means that the NDP remains the focus of all our politics — but not the centre of our activities.

It means that (1) we shall continue to encourage membership in the NDP and to work in the NDP. But our actual involvement in the constituency associations other than during elections and other broad activities, that it is possible the leadership may encourage and that bring now forces around, should be scaled down. We should now adjust to the real tempo of the NDP. We should be much more cautious in choosing the grounds which might bring us into conflict with the machine, which is now entrenched and more disposed and more capable of cutting us out. We should not get trapped into disputes that take on the character of power struggles but should operate in full cognizance that for a stage the policy of the movement has been decided, and present our views in a more cautious and educational manner.

While it is true that the period is profoundly revolutionary and that we should be prepared for rapid turns in events and new opportunities it is clear that the NDP is going to be far less responsive than heretofore and for an extensive time.

It means (2) we should pay more attention to our NDP work in the trade unions. We should seek ways and means to increase the participation of the union rank and file in politics and on a more day-to-day basis. We should work out ways of vitalizing the political action bodies — demand regular reports be given the membership meetings, press for resolutions and discussions on stands that the MPs are taking or should be taking. It would seem certain that the unions, much more than the constituency organizations, are going to more rapidly register new moods and new turns to the left of the class.

It means (3) that, completely within the framework of our identification with the NDP, we direct much more time and energy to the activities of the independent forms of the movement.

The cadre has to be built and to be built now! The main possibilities for this growth lie in the public work of the independent forms of the movement. We have to make more of our forces available for this independent work.

We need to spend more time and energy on our press — making it a more effective instrument of our program and on a vastly increased scale.

We need to strengthen the centre so that we can give leadership — so that we can more firmly cement the connections that we have been establishing over the past years and give direction to our growing forces.

The NDP being the main area of our work, our 1963 document ended up with the challenge that: “We are not actually a national movement. We have scarcely made a beginning in Quebec which is probably to be the scene of the most radical actions in all of Canada in the next period ahead. This is one of the problems that this convention must come to grips with.”

Since then the movement has sent 7 comrades to Montreal — 2 of them leaving subsequently for other areas. Our Quebec work has been our single most important achievement over the past three years — not the least aspect of which has been the publication on a regular basis of the French language La Lutte Ouvrière.

Our comrades have moved boldly and effectively in and around the many formations that the ferment in Quebec has thrown up. Most of these organizations have proven to be transitional, some even somewhat ephemeral. We however took tactical adaptations to some of them.

The movement requires a detailed study of the working class movement in Quebec, to assess whether the revolutionary vanguard party is going to develop independently or through a labor party based on the unions. Prominent in such a study would be an analysis of the NDP and whether or not we should already be preparing our forces there for the formation of a Quebec NDP as the mass labor party formation.

Footnote:

Our 1963 resolution meeting at the height of a wave of expulsions in both BC and Ontario commented on them as follows: “The experience of the current wave of persecution even more than the previous one sustains the correctness of firmly maintaining our orientation. In the process of these struggles to maintain our position as an integral part of this labor party formation we have on each occasion consolidated around us new forces at least equal if not in political experience, certainly in numbers and in enthusiasm, to those expelled. It would be completely one-sided to view the expulsions as a tragedy, and not only as a setback to our whole work. They are an inevitable part of the process of building, of forging the forces necessary to win the leadership of the class. On each occasion they have more firmly established Trotskyism as a serious current, as the natural, the inevitable tendency of leftward moving forces in the labor party. They have resulted in a tremendous maturing of our cadre and a growth of our combined forces.

Lest these words be misinterpreted it should be stated that overall there is no merit whatsoever in expulsions. We do not consider them to be desirable as a form of “bleeding,” as a test of revolutionary integrity, intransigence or incorruptibility. We attempted insofar as we had any control over the situation to prevent the expulsions — we did not carry a struggle to a dead end where the leadership had no alternative but to go through with them. We opened every possible door for them to withdraw. As far as we were concerned the expulsions were unavoidable. It is true we were able to turn the given situation to some advantage — to educate a considerable number of persons. But it must

be recognized that the social democrats have used the expulsions not only to remove us from contact with important strata of workers and radical youth — they have laid up a considerable reserve of lies and slanders for continued use against us.

*****

May 30, 1966

World Outlook (SWP-USA)

Victoria

Dear Dick (F1)

It was all I could do last week to get your W.O. off in the mail. Am now into the paper but thought I should drop you a few lines about the convention.

It was a tremendous success. All told 105 persons attended--if I am not mistaken they were all members of the movement, either youth or adultbut two. We had very consciously restricted attendance, eliminating even close contacts because of the security problem. The fact that the convention was taking place was going all through the NDY where the right wing is apparently preparing a brand purge. So we decided to tighten up. The major discusson was around the NDP document, the Vietnam work and the Trade Union document, but there was an even more formal one for one whole day on Quebec. The previous three terminated in the unanimous adoption of documents, the Vietnam one was however ammended. The Quebec discussion it was agreed was the opening up of a large dscussion which we will continue.

George Novak came up as did two leading girl comrades of the YSA. George made a couple of short but significant contributions. We elected a new executive committee which brought a considerable number of the new comrades who have been developing rapidly into the leadership. Attendance was good from Vancouver 7 or perhaps 8. Everyone but two made itvfrom Montreal, Dick got in from Edmonton and of course Toronto attended in force. The average age was something about 25 years

I think that everyone felt that we are now moving well along to making a significant breakthrough

Tonight we had a rounded meeting on the Trailblazer tour--the comrades will be shoving off next Monday. They will be going east first-~~Oshawa~~ Peterboro, Montreal, Kingston ,Ottawa and then on north to the west--and wont be back until about September 30th. They are heading into Montreal about the 11th for a conference that the branch is holding there. We are rushing to get things into order --getting lists up to date, finishing off the vehicle, etc.

And now the Cuban developments come along--looks mighty like a diversion being carried out by Johnson to take the pressure off on Vietnam. Never has a president been in such a spot. And for Johnson, the machine politician--with the machine cracking up it is real bad. Kennedy is really moving in on him. We will have to send out an alert to all the various ex Cuba committees to be prepared

So what is up now? Are they trying to send you into exile--or is it all still pending and you are taking it easy in Victoria. Next year we will have Phil Courneyeur and another comrade in Victoria--both teaching.

take it easy comradely

Ross D

Milnes Landing

If you have nothing to do some day why not take a bus out to ~~Seattle~~ and go up the road for a visit to Byron Johnson of ~~Smith~~ Milnes Landing. He and his wife are long time friends of ours and would welcome a visit. You could probably phone them before going out. A beautiful spot

Pat: (Mitchell) (LSO, Montreal) May 31/66

(1) Got the rest of the document! (Until DB)

(2) Partial solution to our French language problem — World outlook comes out now as Perspective Mondiale — Vol 1 No 1 — to 25 avril/66 every other week

25 issues $4 — Pierre Frank 21 rue d'Aboukir Paris 2

Specify French language — Est arrivé

(3) Would be interested to know climate there now — Did Dr. Ho's reply have any real impact? How is Nyle? To be told by WFW that my document was wrong Methodological would have staggered me — how did he stand up to the NC meeting — Ross

For immediate release

June 2, 1966

Toronto
Ross Dowson, sometime mayoralty candidate, announced this afternoon that he will speak in Allan Gardens on Sunday June 5, at 1 p.m.

The theme of Dowson's speech will be determined by the fact that Toronto fascist Beattie is speaking at 2 p.m. on the same day.

Dowson will deal not so much with the screwball fascists such as Beattie and his gang but the real genocidists --- the US military in Vietnam and the real anti-semites in high places in Canadian society such as the Montreal Stock exchange.

He will speak on labors' fight against injunctions and Government threats of compulsory arbitration --- the real threat to democracy.

The meeting is the first of a series to be held by the Young Socialist Forum which has invited Dowson to speak.

Ross Dowson,
1 Cumberland Street, Toronto 5.
922-6665

FIGHT *FASCISM* BY FIGHTING *BIG BUSINESS*
STRENGTHEN *LABOR* AND ITS *PARTY*

No doubt you have come to Allan Gardens this afternoon to express your hatred of the Fascists and everything they stand for. There has been a broad disgust and revulsion against the attempts of John Beattie and his cohorts to spew out their racist filth. But aren't we in danger in our disgust at his motley crew of overlooking the real racist and potentially fascist danger lurking in high and powerful places in Canadian society?

We can find plenty of evidence of fascist attitudes and actions in our society without going to our self-styled Nazis. The very government officials that preach about the need to muzzle and outlaw the "Nazis" have supported the U.S. State Department's war in Vietnam, a war which has followed the pattern of aggression and genocide set by Hitler. The Vietnam war is only too reminiscent of Hitler's invasion of Poland: trumped-up charges of aggression against a weak and defenseless nation, a blitzkrieg of bombing and murder, invasion by nearly half a million troops destroying the homes and livelihood of the people and killing hundreds of thousands of innocent civilians, and all bolstered on a subtle undertone of racist propaganda about the need to protect ourselves against the "yellow tide." John Beattie talks in terms of genocide; the U.S. government carries it out. with the warm support of Pearson and Diefenbaker.

Anti-Semitism

Examples of a fascist mentality in high places are close at hand. Only recently, it was revealed how firms operating in the stock exchange refuse to employ Jews for fear of alienating their big business clients. The most recent study showed that of the 700 tycoons who run Canada, only 6 are Jewish. Jews are excluded from the posh clubs, like the Granite Club in Toronto. The Canadian Nazis talk about excluding Jews from positions of power; Canadian big business has been doing it for decades.

Where fascism has come to power, its first action is always to destroy the labour movement, and every other organization through which working people unite to resist big business rule. The same aim is only too evident in the Bay Street boardrooms. Courts and corporations are working hand in hand in their attempts to smash every strike with indiscriminate use of injunctions. Only yesterday the Pearson government moved to force striking Montreal longshoremen back to work and smash their strike. For three years Toronto typographers have been picketing three daily papers who refuse even to negotiate, let alone present a reasonable offer. The typographers know from their own experience the fascist-like determination of big business to smash every union, whenever they have the opportunity.

How Hitler Came to Power

It should not surprise us, then, that fascism has come to power only through an alliance with the richest and most "respectable" representatives of big business. In Germany, for example, the Nazis were an insignificant splinter party until the depression, when the capitalist economic system began to collapse, and elections showed a steady swing to the socialist parties. Suddenly the Nazis began to receive multimillion—dollar contributions from the Krupps and other great industrialists. Hitler came to power not through a coup d'etat or by winning a majority in elections, but because a parliamentary alliance of liberal, conservative and monarchist parties voted him absolute power. It was the E.P. Taylors and the Lester Pearsons of Germany who, even though they talked against fascism, eventually agreed to put fascism in power. (please turn over)

continued from other side

We would be sadly misled if we were to believe it possible to crush fascism by outlawing or denying freedom of speech to the Canadian Nazis. Many spokesmen claim that the " fascist threat " justifies sweeping limitations of free speech. In fact, such laws pose a far greater danger to our freedom than John Beattie's screwball Nazis. The Canadian Nazis are only an extreme and powerless expression of fascist attitudes deeply rooted in our society, rooted in the power of the union-busting bigots of Bay Street.

We must mobilize to fight the real fascist danger in Canada: the fascist-minded dictators of Canadian big business. We must fight to build and protect our own organizations, the trade unions and the New Democratic Party, the political party of the Labor movement. And we must work for a socialist Canada, which alone can put an end to race hatred, discrimination and the threat of fascism.

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LABOR & INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

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from 1 Cumberland Street Toronto

This leaflet issued by the League for Socialist Action,
1 Cumberland Street Toronto. Phone 922-6665

(Labor donated) 19th June 1966

For immediate release

June 2, 1966

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Ross Dowson,
1 Cumberland Street, Toronto 5.
922-6665

(1917)

Toronto
Thursday July 21, 1966

Ottawa

Dear Comrades;

John R has raised with me the problem of our giving you some help with the purchase of a good mimeograph machine.

We understand that you have tmxsomething in the neighborhood of $100 for this purpose. We are prepared to add the necesary funds to make it possible for you to buy a suitable machine.

We would ask that you express your willingness to purchase a re-conditioned machine....as you know there is a wide wange of prices and a wide range of makes.

At present we are operating in four different cneters Gestetners. There is some considerable advantage in having stencils that are immed-iáàely interchangeable without any fuss whatsoever. We have purchased our machines from the Gesterner company itself. We have done so for with limited pu chases of su plies they service them---and while the Gestener is a rugged machine it is noe theless a sensitive one and requires servicing. In many fileds serivces costs are extremely high.

Three of our machines are electric. We do not find that this is so necessary however as it is ti have a model that has strippers on it. The biggest single e pendutre in mimeographing is mimeograph paper--one of the most costly types of paper there is. However with strippers it is possible to use newwprint--the cheapest paper there is. We only buy stencils and ink from Ges etner along with letterguides and styluses. We buy our paper form a pparer whole-sale house. We are now getting newsprint 8½ X 11 at 97 cents a thousand sheets --mimeograph paper we are getting at about $3 a thousand. This is a collosal saving---and while the model that has strippers costs alighlty more it soon pays for itself because of cheaper paper costs.

I have phoned Gesterner and they have such a model as I describe -Model 260----here in Toronto. Th y have an office in Ottawa and I gather that it is probable that they have such a machine in Ottawa too. At anyrate they would be prepared to ship the Toronto model to Ottawa.

Another pòint---it is very difficult to use electronic stencils(reporduction of pHotos) without strippers.

Let me know your thinking on this so that we can proceed as rapidly as possible.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

Augsut 2, 1866
1 Cumberland
Toronto

Dick Prinsep
577 Richards Street
Vancouver, B.C.

Dear Dick

Good to hear from you again. I have been intending to drop you a few lines for somewhile---and here we are heading into the next issue of the Vanguard so it had better be tonight.

Of course the big thing is the Niagara Falls demonstration this weekend. Despite all the worrywarts it looks to me like it is going to be a big success. Although it may well be the last act of the Toronto Coordinating Committee. The in-fighting there has become very bad. None of the component parts are going anywhere, making any gains, and they are deadly frightened of our attractivity. There have been two good developments and we carried them off---as membership single issue organizations. That is the University Conference held a couple of weeks ago here and the Richmond Hill Committee that has developed largely through George and Bea's efforts . The demonstration is going to be a success but its impressiveness on the community is another thing. The Niagara Parks regulation are extremely oppressive and only we are prepared to defy them.

But there are also a few other important developments underway that will be of particular interest to you. Fair Play had a very successful picnic on the 24th of July--about 60 turned out, including Vern and Anne. Of course we were the backbone but there were some other new elements including Goldberg from St Pauls. Did you know that Sweezy has agreed to come up for the Fair Play banquet. The comrades got a bulletin out--probably Phil has some copies and I gather that Che's pamphlet on Socialism is selling regularly.

Then too there is the Alexander Committee tour. It seems to be well underway. Lee is already in New York. And as you probably know he is starting off the tour in Canada. ..in New Brunswick actually. We met those Fredericton people last month. They came through Toronto on their holidays. They are Belgians and know Lee from their university days in Germany and are members of the left socialist group in Belgium--they know Ernest Mandel very well. Although I must say they really dont understand Bolshevism and its cadre concepts. I gathered this from their impressions of the SWP. We with our NDP orientation appear different to them from the SWP

Do you know anything about preparations for the Lee tour in Vancouver? Of course Connie is experienced in this but there is a South African there who is actually the liason with the committee. I am wondering if you have met herm and if you cannot give her a hand in making preparations for Lee's meetings. There is going to be some work involved as we have been given a bad time in the year as our part of the tour.

How did you like the last issue of the paper? I suppose you noted that we finally got part of your letter in. Had to cut it badly but I think it still holds up. It was in good company---Bertrand Russell. That was a particularly fine statement

by the old man. We have had some very good reactions. Today a little old lady came into the store to purchase 8 copies to send to friends in the U.S.. We have had a fellow in St Catherines and another in Kitchener send in a couple of bucks for extra copies. On Sunday I sent down to the island ferry docks to sell it to anyone going by. In about an hour and a quarter I sold 12 copies. I thought that that was a good idea---that the editors of Vanguard should state that they are prepared to submit an indictment of Pearson and company. It looks like the Russell Foundation is going ahead ---a representative of his came into Toronto on the way to New York. I got a telegram to meet him but it arrived too late for me to make the airport . No doubt he will get in touch with us on the way back.

I suppose you have been hearing about the tour from around the bookstore. It appears to be going well.We got a copy of the projected program in Regina over the August 6-9 period. The program has Art Young speaking in the afternoon and the following morning T.S. Douglas himself. They appear to have been doing deepr work--they have not been getting so many subs but fortunately this truck gets lots of mileage --about 30 to a gallon. They have been holding meetings all along. the way with varying success.

The railway situation is hopping. Our comrades here are concentrated in the CNR and tonight the CPR barns have sat down on the job. Tomorrow night the strike coordinating committee that is representative of all the locals of the CBRT in the area is meeting. A couple of the leading militants are in Montreal--left as soon as they heard that the pin had been pulled there. So we are favoring a policy of staying pat until the meeting and the return of the local leaders. However it may well be that our hand has been forced. Expcting a phone call from Jim or Pat any moment as to what the perspective is of the CPR sit-inners and the CBRT shift that is now on the job.

So what is the score with you...now that they want the pledge of a years servitude on the Queen Charlotte's .What is the job situation otherwise, if you dont take the pledge? I gather that in general it is not too good for males. I hear Alan had a tough time. Is the Queen Charlotte stay completely unbroken --with no leaves. Well things continue to boom here in Toronto

Pat M was up over last week--her job brought her in for a few days---she sends her regards. Getting ready to go on staff late this fall. The new issue of La Lutte should be out anyday--they will have it for August demonstrations. The PSQ has not yet had a meeting on the election results and the last issue contented itself with a rah rah rah superficiliaty. While it is not clear what is going to happen to its cadre --personally I would be suprised if it does quickly go down the drain--some of its better element have been working closely with BobS on the antiVietnam wasr committee

How do you like the Ottawa newsletter--I think the comrades are doing a fine job. the VDC bulletin is a fine effort too.

comradely

Ross

Workers Vanguard
1 Cumberland St.
Toronto 5
Ont.

30 Aug'66

Dear Friend,

We thank you most sincerely for your interest in the Bertrand Russell appeal,and your initiative in sending copies to Britain

Also we would like to thankyou for you article ,althougth as you will have seen we found it impossible to use it thru space limitations. You can appeciate the monetary and technichal difficulties involved in producing the Vanguard at its present size.

As far as your criticism is concerned, we thank you for it. The League for Socialist Action has always welcomed political discusion as it is affundamental condition for the advancment of socialist thought.

As revolutionary socialists we are committed through theoretical and practical considerations to work with and through "what is ".

The NDP as a labor formation is a truly monumental and progressive step for the North American working class and will in due course , if properly developed , have an enormous effect on the National Liberation struggles that are yet to come throughout the world.

However if we appear at times to be a little sharp, it is not directed at the NDP as such but rather with the lerdership who sometimes seem more concerned with their own problems then with the interests of the class.

Canadians needd canadian MacDonalds and Wilsons like the unions need compulsory arbitration.

We look forward to hearing from you again and maybe we can meet sometime in the near future.

Yours Fraternally,

September 7, 1966

824 Yonge Street
Toronto

(2)

Dear Anne and George;

Our combined youth and adult movement is planning an educational weekend over November 12 and 13. We had made arrangements to take over a big U of T encampment for this project but ~~xx~~ have now been informed that only a very small number of females are allowed and there is a complication which we could overcome with regards to the proportion of non-students allowed to attend.

Then I thought of you and your facilities. If I am not mistaken you operate on a year around basis. Are you open then? Are you booked ? What facilities do you have --we expect something in the neighborhood of 60 persons. Since most of the participants will be youth and of course all working class or workingclass orientated we would not require what are noramllybconsidered proper facilities for that number.

The focus around which the eudacation effrot will be built will be a series of lectures by George Novack(William F. Warde) on Scietific Socialism He will be taking this side diversion from a speaking tour that we have arragned on University campuses on Marxism and Existentionalism. This will be a big experience for us and we are anxious to see if we can as we had planned hold it away from the city in some suitable facilities such as I think you have.

Would you let me know what the score is with you on this project right away And if by chance you are not available whether you are aware of any other facilities within a bus ride of Toronto

fraternally

Ross Dowson

Workers Vanguard
1 Cumberland Street
Toronto, CANADA.

September 23, 1966

Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation
3 Shavers Place
London SW 1 England

Attention: Russell Statler

Dear Friend;

We are sorry about the long delay in replying to your note of August 22. Aside from the pressure of other work there has been another factor--- and that is that we have not heard further from you, from the Foundation or from the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign. The daily press in this area says nothing about the war crimes tribunal project and for sometime we felt that you must have come up against some difficulties that might prevent you from carrying it off.

We of course read your petition proposal with interest however we felt that we did not want to get involved in such a project or appeal to others to get involved until such time as we were assured that it was underway. You will appreciate that it is not as easy to carry a petition in this country as it is in England and it would be a big help to really move it if we were able to say that the project is underway in England and has the support of such and such prominent persons.

From other sources we have the impression that the war crimes tribunal is now solid and is underway. But we need communications from you--press releases, statements such as I gather you must be puting out in England. We are in constant touch with important forces involved in anti-Vietnam war work and would see that it get into hands that want it and will use it. At the momenet thatere is a big university project underway--a days of protest-Nov 11 and 12 being sparked by the University of Toronto Committee to End the War in Vietnam--c/o Karen Kopperud, 374 College, Apt 2, Toronto. There is a netwrok of neighborhood committees being built up which shortly will form some centralizing body but the best right now in the Toronto area is The York Committee to End the War in Vietnam, Box 272, Richmonf Hill, Ontario. There are two periodicals which would be definitely interested--Canada Vietnam Newsletter, Box 2352, Station D, Otttawa, Ont and Vietnam Day Committee of Vancouver, whose address I will have to forward to you later.

As far as the union movement is concerned the best point from which to start would seem to us to be The Labor Statesmen, published by the BC Federation of Labor and the Vancouver Labor Council. They have published some valuable material on Vietnam--when the AFL-CIO approved US intervention in Vietnam in 1965 the editors called for President Meany's resignation. I think that they would publicize any material that you sent them. I am afraid that there is no union at this point that could be approached directly with regards to the petition. The petition itself it seems to us would have to be initiated by the anti-Vietnam-war groups. Material for the Labor Statesmen would be delivered if you addressed it to Vancouver, B.C.. One of their contributors Douglas Collins would be particularly interested in this area.

Since we do not know at this time just what form the tribunal will take I feel unable to express any opinions as to how Canadian complicity could be handled.

Looking forward to more information on the progress of the tribunal and for material in general dealing with the progress of your work so that we can hope to coordinate our efforts.

International Socialist Review (SWP)

1 Cumberland Street
Toronto , Canada
September 26, 1966

ISR (Henry, SWP)
Dear Tom;

No we havent died up here. Our printer solved his political differences with us by upping his price half again and we are having trouble getting a new printer --prices have been from $280 all the way up to 600 for a run of 3,500 copies. Not many label shops able to handle a tabloid--and a few have turned the label into a racket.

Finally hear from our Edmonton comrade re your publication of Socialism and Professors. It appears that he did not get our letter. Upon my next enquiry he replied yes to reproduction of this item in ISR but he has only received the carbn copy of the original with the One Dimensional Man proposition so I will have to let you know about other contributions in a week or so.

comradely

Ross

November 9, 1966

Dear Comrades;

For sometime we have been contemplating moving in on a full scale behind the War Crimes Tribunal project initaited by Betrand Russell. We have delayed doing so because there appeared to be unlimited difficultuies standing in the way of this project---among the difficulties was lack of any real contact with the Foundation.

It now appears justified to move in on this area. What impells us at the moment are the assemblies that are taking place across the country around the November 11--12 days of protest. The various activities will give us an opportunity to launch this project such as we will not have again for a while.

We are therefore sending you copies of the petition. The Ottawa name and address has no offocial character-- once we start on the project matters of this kind will be quickly settled. It xxx is desireable to have a Canadian address and this one for various reasons is the most suited.

The copies of the peition are arriving under separate cover.

fraternally

R. Dowwon

(Allen E)

December 22, 1966

(Vancouver) Harry (S.) John (W)

Dear Allen;

I have just finished reading over your letter re the paper etc.

Here are a few comments for your consideration.

I think that there is considerable reason for our staying in a tabloid format. The tabloid is a paper--news-- the product--the opinion, the voice of a movement. The magazine size---such as the Progressive Workers Movement mag presents a totally different face in my opinion. It is the production of a group, a circle, much more dateless, less pressing dynamic, less trying to influence daily events.

The periodicity of the Vanguard as things now are is irrelevant to the above. The format is the style of the producers. We have been able in my opinion with some success to give the Vanguard even as a monthly the appearance of immediacy of a weekly let us say.

I think that it is necessary to stay as a tabloid and this is a primary matter in further discussion.

Perhaps you do not know--but we have a highly skilled operator of a Chief. Harry S now does this for a living and he is working in a first class shop with his own chief and doing top flite color work on it, He is a highly skilled technician and is capable of building up a team around himself. He will have completed his apprenticeship within 18 months

In one of the estimates made on the Vanguard the cost of the press work was given as 120 dollars. ----an issue--a month. To finance a chief works out to about 165 dollars monthsoover 36 months.

The expenditure you will see therefore is not as large as you might be inclined to think

A few comments re personel. We are moving towards a solution in this respect--perhaps not as rapid as you might like however. John W is moving slowly but more rapidly completely out of the youth arena. He worked with me on the last issue and his contribution was considerable.

We are also moving towards a solution of the store. I am still involved in it but this is largely due to Chrsitmas which is a big operation Joan K is working full time and it is obvious to me that she will be taking over the entire operation---that I will only be in a consultative position soon in regards to the store.

I will not argue with anything you say about the importance of the press. But we have no use for a weekly--we do need a twice monthly however In my opinion we could not put out a twice monthly Vanguard and the YSF without a full time press operator... that is using our own facilities-- the Davidson which is a very slow press. I think that I told you in a previous letter that it takes two weekends now to put out the YSF-mechan leaflet

A Davidson would go to some lengths in solving this problem. It is a high speed press and if I am not mist ken could if we thought it desirable run the YSF mx two up.

There are a considerable number of aspects to this uestion which are very difficult to discuss and decided on the CC level.

I think perhaps the most important point you raise to my attentio n is the solution of the personel problem. I am somewhat impatient with this process myself--but I think we are moving forward--and not out of keeping with our ability. It is not just a matter of money as you know.

I am shocked to read about the mailing time. First inkling I have had of this. I always thought that it took five days maybe six

I have just managed to get through to the right apartment in the post office and they assure me that the paper should at the longest take 7 days---from 5 to 7 days. We will put a tracer on the next issue

Re your proposal to change the name of the paper. I think that your proposals are not good ones. We might be established in many areas as the socialists but the paper must have the aim of convincing people of the correctness of socialism which amongst the Canadian people as a whole does not have too anattractive anx odour. The Militant, Fight, Vanguard etc--they express what is necessary in my opinion --they attract the best element and their receptivity. Having attracted them the paper must convince them that it is necessary to go socialist. To proclaim yourself socialist in the banner unnecessarily limits us. Offh nad I cannot recall any mass paper of the Bolshevik current th t did so--Spark, Truth, Humanity

Looking forward to seeing you in the next month. However I do not see why this decision should be held up until I meet a l the CC members and come back and go over it all again. It think that it is a simple fact that we cannot do what you want us to do on the Davidson and if we were to do so it would require increasing the staff in that direction which I am sure none of us agree to at this time. We cannot stay in the commercial press field either. I was showing Harry what has been happening to us as we have been tossed out of one shop and had to move to nother. We start off in our journeys at $250 an issue---we are now at $370 and issue--and we can only go up except for one angle I am investigating right after the New Year.

What do s Alan think of your proposals?

Alan Harris?

comradely

Ross

December 26, 1966

Don (D-2)

Ottawa (-2)

Dear Ken;

Thanks for your very interesting letter on the situation in your local Of course there are differences in your local from those pertaining in others that I have heard about--largely nuances--I would think that your situation is in general conformity with that in many of the Ontario locals.

There is no doubt in my mind that you should take the post of PEC chairman. This is the same post that Jeff Levitz has in Local 26, although I have the impression that this is an executive post in Local 26.

It is an important post for many reasons--it takes you out of your department right into the various areas of the shop--this is particularly important if you happen to be employed in one of the most conservative areas It would seem also that the level of activity and militance in your shop is low. But the development of the workers is uneven. With such a post you can readily make connection with the sacttering of better elements wherever they may be. Then as you know often there are workers who understand the overall the political nature of the task but who have no idea of how to work in a union--no idea of the more practical aspects of the class struggle. You will be able to contact them because of the prestige and authority of yonr office.

But you raise this primarily it seems to me from the point of view fo priorities--the amount of time and effort that you have at your disposal. While it is of course necessaey to be serious about posts that we take to not sit on positions--I can say now without any fear of contradiction that if you did practically nothing with the post, if you were able to respond to its demands only in the most miniscule way--you would be doing much more than anyone elsev who might take it. We should take it and do what we can with it. Decided ourselves on the basis of whatever other obligations we have and their importance just how much time and energy we put into it. In fact the best situation would be to take it--get a few projects underway of a modest character and see who they turn up. The best situation would be that you turn up someone who you could first work with and then turn over the bulk of the work to under your supervision.

I would place assignements from the local or branch in a totally diffcrent category.from posts we take in a union. In the former we have allocate the work on the basis of the ofrces at our disposal with a fairly accurate delineation of their importance--what is expected. In the latter case, in many unions action level is so low that it is necessary to be on the exeutive or a committee to have any idea of what is going on. The members do not have any real concepts of what is expected of a person taking office--their concept of commitment is widely varied. We can vary our level of activity add participation quite sensitively --we can tie it in with the possibilities to be gained from it.

By all means take the post. I will turn your letter over to Don D

I am not at all sure--I am unable to say that by so doing it would affect your ability to continue on as organizer I do not know that that would

be the qualitative turning point--- I seriously doubt it. I would say in this respect take the post and we will see --see what the possibiliti are in it --see what demands these possibilities make on us. Besides I would have to know who else could be organizer

I guess you didn't know that I am the secretary-treasurer of the Morton Sobell committee of all Canada--along with being editor of the Vanguard, executive secretary--as yet still operator of the store, advosi in this and thatares-- I wont tell you the terrible tale. I approach all this dialiectically. I am ready to shove anyone of them off if we are in a position to do so. Dont ever move to Toronto.

Glad to get your letter on the War Crimes Tribunal.

I have found the copy of the appeal that I received a while back and enclose it for your information. We should be able to get several hundreds of copies. You should get a stamp immediately with your name an address on it and when they come we can stamp them all....before we send them out

Re--Gerassi. I came across a clipping in the Star reporting or allegn ging to report what he said in the Montreal meetings or interviews. Bea in a few comments with me last Wednesday tended to affirm what the Star said.

xy I gather that Gerassi calls for the deepening of the demands of the anti-Vietnam war movement--urging it to strike much more openly and sharply at the roots of the US role--American imperialism--getting right at the system that exists here on this continent. and is extending i its tentacles into Latin America where it is doing this here and that there.

Well if that is what he is going to say on any tour we arrange for him up here--we dont want him--at least not from the point of view of luanching any movement favorable to the War Crimes Tribunal. He probably idetifies himself with the concept of victory for the NLF too. Well we wont get the War Crimes Tribunal off the ground on such a basis. At least it wont attract the type of persons that we hope to attract--it wont mobil. ize any reall mass movement that we hope it will--and which it could with that line.

We might like to hear that line. In fact it is the responsibility o of the revolutionary soc alists to advance it by and large--but the spokes man of the Trobunal here in Canada cannot take this line --or we will never get what is in the WCT out of it.

I think that before we go any further with the tour project we should drop him a line containing your observations on his speeches and the problems you are already having with Steele etc. Has he read the cautious article by Russell that we carried in the Vanguard and you eletric stencilled. And the more even cautious statement of aims. He should note that they do not even assume U.S. guilt in Vietnam let along give xxxx the US a world aim. The aims statement very cautiously talks about ---"It appears that this war is being waged in violation-- reports which if proved would represent ever-growing vil.ation of---- it has been alleged that in the first nine months and so on.....

That is the line he has to take. The Dewey Comm ssion didn't seek to exonerate LT--it sought to launch an investigation--to learn the truth. For this it had the support of all those who knew the old man was completely innocent--it won the supoort of people who ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ weren't sure about what the truth was and those who only wanted to know the truth.

Now if Gerassi wants to come up and speak on Vietnam with his line ok--- that is a horse of a different color. But we dont want him if he thinks we can build any serious interest in the Trobunal because I know that his line will isolate the Trobunal ~~xxxx~~m to our forces and a few others

If he doesn't understand that that is too bad.---too bad for him and too bad for the work of developing an interest in the U.S. Perhaps that is what lies behind the SWP's caution with regards to the committee in the US....it looks like it has fallen into the hands of immature people.

From what I gather from your letter the bi-weekly bulletin that they are puting out in the US is much more senstive---I am eagerly awaiting a copy of it

I would take it that you now have a fair quantity of basic literature on the Trobunal--particularly if you got any Appeal to the US Conscience. Have you managed to get out a mailing to key names and addresses. I am anxious to hear what kind of response you have been getting.

Steele seems to be a good bet--very serious about the project. Hope we can mange to speed him up a bot. Since he stands formly by his name on the petition--perhaps we can find soneway of announcing the petition as being launched across Canada---headed up with the names of Steele, Chandler Davis, Prof Kuerti. What do you think of findind some auspicius cicmustance. Perhaps Stelle would agree to call a press interivew.

comradely

Ross

I suppose you know that Karen Kopperud is ta ing a tour very very shortly what do you think of prim ing here to whoop up the committee with assortdd material. Possibly could get a booth set up on the varicus campauses.

E4 1958-66 Various X-DA RD revisions - trustee campaign

nv draft (edited later for Lyle Seveen)

The automation revolution faces us today. Thousands of jobs each weekx are lost to machines. Today's high school students are tomorrow's work force. Tomowrow they will face recurring job displacement and job retraining. They will need a great deal of ~~xiexi~~ flexibility and technical skill to take their place in a changing ~~world.~~ world that is and must be completely reshaped to meet the needs of humankind first

Our educational system must prepare students to meet these changes. By and large, the policies of the other candidates would maintain the status quo - a horse and buggy educational system in a world of jet airliners and cosmonauts. Today's needs demand more than the present educational system can give.

It is necessary to expand school facilities, place greater emphasis on the sciences, make classrooms smaller to permit individual attention, and provide teachers with secretaries to release them from administrative details.

Education must now be the development of the creative abilities inherent in each student. Hence I call for student participation in determining the conditions under which studentx will learn. and prepare for the society of the future.

The history texts used in our schools do not present an accurate historyoef Canada. They are no more than an accumulation of incidents, dates and facts. Emphasis is placed on the roles of kings, queens and prime ministers while little mention is made of the working people who created our factories, railways, highways and modern buildings. Textbooks do not include the history of labor unions and the role they have played in developing our standard of living.

Only 17.6% of the University of Toronto student body are the sons and daughters of skilled and unskilled hourly-paid workers. The Our universities, financed by our taxes, should be open to all.

Most mothers of small children are unable to play a meaningful role in community life because adequate day-care nurseries do not exist. The community shouldpprovide public ~~n~~ nurserеis for all children in order to free these mothers.

There can be no talk of insufficient funds to meet these needs. There is no lack of funds for the arming of Canada and with weapons of awesome destructive potential with no defensive value. The needs of the people must come first. I pledge myself to work whatsoever

for these changes and to serve the interests of the working people

on the Borad of Education
as a represen aitve of the voters of Ward 6

(To CBRT-GW Local 89-Found in 1966 Fred Callaghan archives) (R.D. Notes editing)

Leadership and convention

Whereas it is clear that our national leadership headed by brother Smith by its abject capitulation to the dictatorial demands of the government and the railways has failed to represent the desires of the membership of the CBRT as reflected in the 95% vote to strug le for our demands

Whereas ~~in carrying out this~~ Our Our cowardly act our leadership flagrantly and disgracefully flouted the democratic procedure which calls for membership ratification of settlement proposals

Therefore be it resolved that:

I) Locl 89 CBRT go on record as condemming the policy and actions of brother Smith and the national leadership

2) Local 89 CBRT calls for the convening of an emergency convention of our union in order to repudiate the leaderhip policy with the election of a leadership which reflects the will of the members.

Unification

Whereas the strike proved that our union is gravely weakend by the many devisions of the membership into small unnece-sary and ineffective locals Whereas these devisions give the bosses the advantage since they tend to pit brother against brother and local against local

Therfore be it resolved that local 89 CBRT ;

I) Stand for the ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ immediate annalgamation of CBRT locals in this area in order to build our unity and strenght to act as one

2) Express its willingness to come together with any local who feels it practical and necessary

January 19, 1966

Riddell---Edmonton
Dear John

I must say it was good to hear from you---not a word until this afternoon Oh yes-- a letter last week which I found upon opening was for Dora. I heard that you were in touch with 32 and Sheila this afternoon said she will bring the correspondence over.

Of course we miss you very much---Art is finding it a tough grind in the store--which has been taking up more time than usual as we are clering out all the Christmas stock and hard cover stock generally. Don't know how the youth are making out---I hear that their Saturday night affair with Hans on Latin America was a thumping success. They got the YSF off too---so it looks like we are more than surviving. YSF was printed entriely on our press--Harry pushed it out over the weekend by working night and day--until about 1;30 on Sunday night

Dick left Tuesday morning--he is driving a school bus out. As soon as you get this letter I think that you should phone Llyodminster to see if he is there. He intends to move fairly fast but not at any breakneck speed. And he intends I know to stop in on Lloydminster. It would be a pity if you were to miss him. He should be told all that you have learned about Edmonton so he can fit in as fast as possible.

The Vietnam projects are coming along fine---the brass here is so frightened of the Tollentino project of a public meeting that they are meeting on Thursday to hear a proposal that they sponsor one with Brewin and Lweis--this will probably cause Rimmer and Emby and some Scarbrorough doctor to pull out leaving us alone- We will probably fold up but will have the satisfaction of having forced the top brass out. We intend to continue on until however there is a positive commitment from the brass. This is not what we want-I can hear them now, their rotten line. However I think it certain that Rimmer and company will desert and we are not sufficuently covered to go it alone. The teach-in with Herridge seems to be coming along very well--he is committed and we are proving able to build a braod committee. Will cover all this in the next Vanguard.

I am enclosing the latest internal bulletin with Dick and Al's contribution --pretty hard on Mike---but he asked for it. Things seem to be going well in Montreal--- Andre is giving a public class for the League. ..first activity of this type that we hav carried. Pat seems to be fitting in well. Dont know if they have done much with the last and excellent issue of La Lutte---hope they took it up to U of M when Lesage appeared the other day and there was the harangue about the student strike.

Also enclosing some of the SWP of the vitnenam was questions--figure you should be in the know. Havent had a chance to read this materiao myself but you will be moving in circles that requite you to be informed--dont forget to return this to me. Hard up for Militants--here it is wWednesday and the bundle of Militants hasn't arrived . I will have to send you Dick's copy that has just cme in---you can read it rapidly and turn it over to him.

Since you day that this has to get you in Friday's mail---I must close off-- I am hoping that the address I send it to is suitable.

warmest regards

Thursday morning Feb 9,1966

Edmonton;

Fidler

Dear Dick

Why dont you take a walk over to the post office,Station L, Box 5702 I can only conclude that you have not done so as immediately upon receiving your letter I bundled up a package of sub blanks, a bunch of copies of the Mid-December Vnaguard, along with a few other items and sent them off to the box. At the same time I put a letter addressed to the YSF business manager in the box asking hi n or her to send you sub blanks at once. ~~xxxxxxx~~ I have always followed a practice of answering this part of a letter at once--because I can do so without taking up much time and it serves to let the comrade know that I have received the letter and will answer first opportunity other aspects of the letter.

I am quite sure that I sent another item and of course we sent out the last Vanguard--and sent it airmail to boot. I took it for granted that you would want us to use the box- this morning I have checked the slip you sent and see that we have it correct in the paper and assume that I addressed the packages correctly.

Much as I would like to answer the points you make on the documents I am afraid that I will be unable to do so now and not this weekend either. I have been told that I am not internationally oriented but never before that I am not nationally oriented. Hansen and others were not circumspect in letting me know that they were disappointed in my failing to go south several months ago. I have decided that I must go to the plenum this weekend. I hope to get out of the store by about two, finish the various southern minutes and dcouments and international correspondence that I scanned at the time but did not digest so the trip is fruitful and then take the bus tonight so I get in there for the morning session

John R's trip and Pat's ~~xxxxx~~ stay in Montreal have been a big drain on my energies and testify to my week-kneed, chicken, cowardly, craven inability to stand up against the pressure of the national needs of the movement. Then too there was my agreement ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ my rotten submission to the pressure to send Alan to Eng land, Ernie to Vancouver then over to England and you to Edmonton. We are going to have to do something about this fatal flwaw in my character just as soon as possible.

As for that ~~xxxxx~~ comment" why else was I pulled out of Montreal " I refuse to comment other than to say there is absolutely no truth in any suggestion of any kind that you were pulled out ,and not recommended ~~xx~~ qualified to take up the challenge of Edmonton.

Just received a phone call from John--seems to be in good spirits--I suggested that he take a day off but no he will be over later this afternnon to get filled in on what is doing.--and there is lots.

Friday forum--spoke myself last Friday and the place was packed--sent a tape down to Montreal. This Friday Jerry--Saturday we will be responsing to the SNCC call primarily in order to build up TIVDIC for the coming conference on Vietnam Valentine social Satu day evening--then we are busy with the Teamsters strike-- trustee sitting on the strike so we have put out a b lletin--and then all the ~~xxxxxx~~preparations for the Vietnam conference which is moving along with difficulty but upward.

What's this about Lloydmister, Pri ce Alberta, and tour of Saskatchewan hope your national orentation wont take you too much away from the main task Edmonton---you dont have much time before Fall---warmest regards Ross

Friday Feb 18, 1966

Edmonton

John R

Dear Dick

Received the carbon copy of your letter to Claude and Genevieve. This should give them encouragment to do some work in the NDP. On various ocassions I have written them about activating themselves in that area but have met with stony silence, although Jean writes letters to the Commnowealth, usually somewhat sectarian showing little understanding of our transtional program and I see her name is down in the Socialist Caucus bulletin. --

Edmonton

We also got a copy of the Vietnam newsletter--- I think Roy Swift sent it to the Vanguard---very good--just in time for the conference tomorrow--we will work up a display of it--along with a news release from the UBC committee. The conference appears to be coming along well---there were many difficulties to overcome---at the last moment we had to pull Herridge back into it--it looks like church groups are going to respond--and this should widen out the base which as it is now is all too small. The CP is moving in behind the project although it did little to work it up.

But to take up your letters;

We received the Quebec document. John Wilson has read it and thinkks it very good. I just havent had the time yet but everyone is pressing in on us and so I have Carson already working on it puting it onto stencils. This is a big job what with all the other things going on so I figure we should not wait until others can read it and we can have a meeting. We can do all this before it goes out. I see you gave it no title and you say nothing as to how you would like it presented--in whose name.

I sent you the December issue as at the time of your request the new issue wasn't out. Would have had it out before the weekend but Art didn't get ~~maxim~~ down to relieve me from the store unril 2 after I had stayed up until three to push the paper through and we just missed by about 15 minutes getting it off the presses. I sent you sub blanks almost immediately if I am not mistaken wrapped up in some mail that had been forwarded from Montreal. I have sent you some more sub blanks along with some other mail and the Militant you ask for. I have sent everything that has come here in your name onto Edmonton. The Jan 17 Militant that arrived in Edmonton addressed for Jhn was probably enclosed with a note or something --I sent it to him as I wanted him to have the latest material as he was about to move out over the Prairies working various meetings . I have noted your comments about the importance of Avenue

I take it for granted that John will be writing up something big on the Saskatchewan convention. .. but I will remind him anyway. My impression although I have almost no time to talk to him is that he is developing very rapidly. Sheila gave an iternal on Marx's labor theory of value last Wednesday which was not very good. Bob Mc made a contribution and while I made not a very good one in my two minutes--it had been cut to that when my turn came--John gave a very clear--several point contribution of excellent character. Literature was of course a problem for John--with you there at ~~xxxx~~ Regina things would be somewhat differen but he was on the move by himself so we put out a list and he carried sample copies --I though not a bad idea in face of the luggage problem and his need to concentrat besides being forced by circumstances to talk to contacts. I sent him a parcel

Mike Mill
André Doucet

jus' under the 11 pound limit to get him in time for the Regina conference--his idea and I believe he got it. His main literautre work had to be on the YSF which it would seem came off quite well. Good to see that the Sask NDY's stand was so good--I guess Brian must have had something to do with this

It is quite possibly--even probable that John did not realize the maimum potential of his tour. --although looking back it seems to me that it was quite a tremendous tusk he took on--travelling by oneself in totally unfamiliar territory for an extended period of time --at this time we have only one haven-Lloydminster--speaking at meetings after meeting , where there is hardly a familiar face. I try t recall my trip back in 1948. Probably he gave a detaield report to the youth--he was going to give a sketchy one to the last branch meeting but it got squeezed out by other matters.

When was the conference in Montreal where we discussed Mike's document and blocked his "entry" project? You will recall your leaving for Edmonton had a bit of a redervation at that time---we were wondering where Mike was going and what this would mean for Montreal--and whetehr or ont we could carry through with the Edmonton project. Jihn left about Christmas time I think and it is possible that I did not clear away that doubt that was in my mind with him. Possibly he was not too sure whether we were going to be able to come across with Edmonton.

I note your comments about the appeal yhat SUPA has to some good types becaue of its orientation to direct action. This makes me somewhat hesitant about coming out frontally against their community action projects--for instance the Indian project. I was thinking of writing something up on the Kenora Indian protests for the last issue but we had noroom. I suppose you know that the CIC and Alan Borovoy played quite a role in the demonstration at Kenora. While probably many of the SUPA-ites have a partonizing attitude to the Indians do they not talk sometimes in terms of attempting to organize them so that they can as a group overcome their general demoralization and effectively give voice to their needs. While we would not project such actions as the Metis project I think that it is a very difficult thing to oppose--as you note it is hard to project alternatives because of the hold of the ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~brass over the unions and the conservativism of the NDP. If we could only prohect some of this energy into the building of a mass popular anti Vietnam war movement

Incidently Bob is on a project with another comrade moving through New York State with the anti-Vietnam war newsletter--I suppose speaking and selling He will be ending up in Detroit. He spent some time working at fixing up the fine head quarters they now have in New York. Himel is going out to the coast so I guess they figure he can make a significant contribution there. It will be a good experience for him to work with Lovell and Breitman . No andre has never said a word about his experience--I started to raise the matter with Mike and got the impression that he is not aware that A went to the Island so I pulled back as I felt that he would feel out of things. What is the socre on that. Got a long letter from Mike a week or so ago noting all his sacrifices towards getting La Lutte out and he mentions the disorientation of Andre. But I must say that I had a better impression of A at the time of meeting him in Montreal than anyone had given me. Let me know whether Mike knows and I will ask him.

T was of course there for the whole thing--I enquired about his impressions and strange to say he sent only a few lines over via a letter from Dora to her husband which was for me to see. He of course was not given credentials but was accepted as a guest. All he said was that it was a victory for the Cubas over both the Chinese and the Kremlin. Since then Dora dropped a few other lines trying to clear this up --she says that T said nothing about the attack on Trotskyism as he did not think we would have heard about this at the time of his writing ---and he was wanting to talk to Ernest. Very strange---

(Mandel?)

EH 1958-66 EDM. from Feb 18/66

page 3--- Sunday night

To this day none of the Toronto papers have said anything about Castro's attack on Trotskyism. In fact the New York press had almost nothing--a squib in one of them. The SWP had to depend on the Daily Worker item they reproduced until someone came acorss an African at the UN who had been a delegate to the Congress and who had brought back the Grandma (English edition) with him. The SWP borrowed it long enough to get an Xerox copy. The Pacific Tribune carried the Worker report---the Tribune here carried a rounded article on the Congress by the Parks which ended with the attack on Trotskyism, then the next issue they threw the works in. But no one has said a word about this speech to me--that is our political oppents and I gather that that is true generally with the comrades. Of course the press played up the attack on China . Probably you noticed I played up Castro's attack on Sosa--and the whole question of Guatemala--when in New York I asked Hansen why he said notning or at least almost nothing on this as it appeared to confirm that Castro 's speech signified contrary to the lead --a turn to the right on the Latin American revolution. It appears that Warde was in Mexico and met Guatemalan guerrillas, some of themFidelistas and he said the situation is uch more complex than I siad in the Vanguard--and that the situation is not so faovroable as Gilly writes--that the Posedistas have played a very disorienting role.

Incidentally I dont recall sending on any World Outlooks to you. Are you getting it--I think that three issues have come out now since Joe has returned to NY. They are not going on a weekly schedule for a while as he is far from recovered yet--but of course they came out to repeoduce the full text of Castro's speech and to carry the United Secretariates reply. The address is--P.O. Box 655, Madison Square Station, NY, 10010 NY.

The conference on Vietnam came off well---I do not think anyone could have anticipated more. The Carpenter's Hall was full and overflowing into a local church for the morning addresses. Herridge came through and in contrast to Lewis's speech the night before was quite left--- he report that in the house on Friday he asked Martin if NATO was nuclear armed and when Martin said yes he made a statement to the effect that then the path before the NDP is clear--we are committed to withdrawal and read the appropriate convention material I gather into the record. But of course most important were the results coming out of the 4 panels---political, peace groups, church action and trade union action. I headed our caucus at the political action one. It was an impressive gathering of about 80--the majority NDPers. The un erstanding was that the groups that had been invited and accepted would have about 7 minutes each ot make an address--the the chairman presented an agenda of about 4 points--coul we act through the old line parties, the NDP, should we run peace candidates and oneother that I forget. Sort of a ballup. However, Gus, Regula, Hans and myself carried the day. Mrs Clarke of the CP carried a line which instead of stressing the need for a popular ,one issue independent movement expressed confidence in the possibility of influencing the Liberals and Tories--she made two contributions of this type. But we carried the line of an independent movement --put out and carried the motion to mobilize forces in a first project--the march on Ottawa on the 25-26--and recommended the publication of a bulletin. The trade union panel apparently was also very good--Jerry Gallagher accepted as convenor of a 21 man committee (steering committee) meeting a week Sunday and they too approved of the March 25-2 weekend. Apparently there was a good number of important trade unionists in attendance--havent had a chance to talk to any of our unionists who were there. Before supper all the panels came togtehr in the main auditorium of the Carpenters Hall--packed it--and passed unanimous support of the on to Ottawa demonstration March 25-26, passed a resolution demanding reversal of Canadian policy on Vietnam, recognizing the right of self deter

Peter Horvath?

of the Vietnamese popdie, approved of the publication of a pamphlet covering the main events of the conference--and in general of a periodical. That night there was a social evening--with the Misfits--a group of kids who had previously played at the YSF house-- Barry Morse gave a reading of Shaw which was good, Dave Broadfoot's satirical discouse was good,and the were a couple of other important perfomers. We got Gus onto the coordinatin committee.

The atmosphere was good and it is apparent that we have a very promising movement against thecwar in Vietnam well underway. I understand abou 700 persons attended the morning sessions---I would say that about 400 at least were at the final gathering to hear the reports of the ~~marxk~~ action groups. Had a few run in with Peter H but he did a good job---he, Bill Spria and Fowley(a Unitarian reverend) carried the whole thing off. Bill worked very closely with us. The youth were able to reverse the federal NDY l aderships attempts to swing over to the Easter date---Ontario wnet solidly March 25-26 We will be having ~~anmarxx~~ article on this development along with the Montreal demonstration as soon as I can get onto the paper. ohn Steele made a groad inspirational speech in support of the March -25-26 march and Lois tells me that it was picked up andbroadcast over one of the Toronto FM stations. So we are off.

Glad to hear that Williamson wants to see the formation of an LSA branch and to be a member of it. However I am not too sure about this Marxist Study group. project, unless it is designed to ~~xhxxaim~~ settle matters for the best elements coming our way. In such a case we would not want it to be shceduled for too long and we would not want it to be too academic In essence we would want it to be programmatic. ..acouple of classes to affirm the Marxist analysis of capitalist society--possibly answering the New Left and Keynesian theories--one on the colonial revolution--another on the Soviet Union--moving onto the Dynamics. At anyrate you get my idea-- it should direclty prepare those in attendance for membership in the LSA --the Death Agonies. When is Williamson going to start--time is of the essence. Before we know it we will be in the summer and then you will be lea

It is good that there is an NDP convention while you are there -- although it is a little too close for us to get the best out of it. This provides us with the best possible experience it seems to me.I hope that you are managing to concentrate considerable time on some one--~~Immmbar xx xxxx xxx xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ I would gather that Williamson is the key man but I have heard nothing but praise of Burke.

While I am on that name--I hope you have had an opportumity to go out and see Joe Burki at Entwistle. He knows you are in Edmontnn and we are certainly obliged to see him early in the game.

re the document on LSA-LSO relations. I have written to Ernest--I agains raised this matter with Joe and he said that Ernest told him thatbhe would look up some material on this for us. According to Joe Lenin opposed the constitution off a seaprate Polish party--although from Mike I had gathered a different impression. He has not replied to me yet but it is a little early. The center is now in BrusselIs and Germain is working full time on this

In our discussion on the question of making certain organizational adjustments, to meet the prejusides of French Canadian militants who might be attracted to us I k ow that there was talk about 50-50 representation etc but I thought that was the most exaggerated formulation and while the questio is not a lughing matter was put forward somehwat facetiously. For instance I assume that we are all agreeable to retiaing the name LSO which is of course not even a n attempt at translation of the LSA--I think that is an adjustment which is a correct one yet we would all be members of the Canadian section of the F.I. I think one would concede this regardless of whether we

consider that the Quebec struggle is orienting towards the formation of a separate state. I think that it would not be a violation of democratic centralism to set up for instance a permanent commission on Quebec which would have the responsibility of keeping the national committee informed of developments in Quebec--a sub committee of the national committee composed for instance of Quebec NC members plus the Political committee. This would be valuable for the education of the party, its leading cadre and would be understood by French Canadians as a sensitivity on our part to a question of particular concern to them as Trotskyists here

Of course no one among us is raising the question of an autonomous Quebec section and I dont think it is a matter of constructing built-in safeguards in the constitution against unfair domination by English -Canadian Trotskyists--it is a matter of recognizing special question, a major question, an extremely sensitive question, showing that we are aware of it over andabove a document by marking out certain organization processes. The more I think of it-this idea of a permanent commission --the better I like it.

There are other ways of demonstrating our desire to overcome prejudices or fears of French Canadians--and that would be for the party leadership even without any sepcials statutes encouraging the advance in the party leadership of Quebec comrades. For instance the American party does this in respect for Negroes. I am not aware of anything other than a consciousness that is consciously fostered in the party by leading elements which finds expression in the fact that DeBerry is presidential candidate--the number of Negro comrades running for office on behalf of the SWP is surely completely out of proportion of their strength in the party---and I am inclined to believe that the same goes for Negro representation on the national committee.

The Cp here generates a certain favorable atmosphere by publicizing their special efforts to raise funds for their French language paper.

It is obvious that it is not difficult to present a favoarable image to French-Canadians but I think that it is worth considering putting something into the constitution--perhaps the special commission is the answer

At anyrate even if you think this or something like it is not desire able why dont you finish the document and let us have it for a formal discussion and decision as to whether we would present it as is or would want to make some change in this respect.

Wouldn't mind seeing the CP's Alberta round-up. Did you manage to distribute the CP meeting even with the old December issue.

Yes I was thinking of carrying something on the Dominion--but it too got squeezed out --Castro. Are you thinking of sending in anything for the paper--will be finishing with the MLP item. There is some interesting material from Mike--I will send his letter along to you as soon as I get a chance to answer it. Are you following the French press.

Cold here too--but we have conquered with ear muffs and ear flaps. Where the hell are yours. Are you working or looking for work---and what is the situation with some of that money I advanced you

Enclosed is a leaflet we banged off at the last moments for the conference to give our line--since we will be writing up the Montreal march and the Toronto conference it might not be bad if there is anything to add to the bulletin we received that you dropped us a line for the Vanguard

warmest regards Ross

Toronto, Ont.

Foundin 1966 "June" (15)

Alan (E.)
Toni (F.)

Edmonton;

(F.)

Dear Dick;

By now you have received the Ju e Vanguard--the third shop in three issues--improving eh. The paper is white and the ink is black. Still a bit of dealy. I had the page proofs all ready by 3 on Friday. I asked them if I could get part of the 10,000 run--but in a shop of this size they cannot answer this question--they shoved me along to the production manager--he told me that they wouldn't be able to have it running until Monday morning at 8;30. We didn't get the paper until Tuesday--about 5,000. The composers responded readily when I walked in with the page proofs and heads on Friday morning--in no time we had three fellows working on the tiny Vanguard. It is not a production shop like Merchants--people take th ir time. The fellows are interested in the paper. The linotypist is a radical --an Irishman here 12 years. When I asked him what he thought of the material is siad we should wirte up something on the bastards heading up the printers union. The compositor knew my old man--so it was sort of old home week. Havent seen the press room or the bindery yet but th y were pleased, quite the contrary to Morris' when I said that I would see the paper through

One problem. When I saw the first galleys come back in this new type face it seemed clear to me that we would be getting about t e same amount of copy in as we did at Morris'. So I went along merrily sending all kinds of copy in. By the time I got working on the galley proofs seriously it became obvious that we were going to get the same amount of copy as we did at Merchants. So I had to pull several items---the letters to the editor--yours and a couple of others your being the only on that could by any stretch of the imagination be considered dated ---an item on the German trade unions' rejection of anti-labor laws(from W.O.2 amalgamated) etc. Lifted an NDP note and so managed to get the rest of the material some of which would have dated badly in the narrow tabloid bed.

Interesting how agreeably Alan E changed the article on the BC NDP convention around. That's Toni's first column. Production was hard but I think that it isn't bad . I cut it an cut it on the stone until I felt that we had no alterantive but to vut the caption on the Quebec striker. Of course the big lack in this issue is an analysis of the Quebec election. Pat tried to fill the bill but her article which arrived as we were locking up was in reality a report of the PSQ election campaign. I was on the verge of working up an item but of course Quebec is a ticklish matter with Mike around --so I decided to drop it all for the next issue--didn 't know that Mike had already withdrawn.

A word on your kind comments about my role in the movement. I was in the situation where having leanred a little bit there was nothing else to do, nothing of any worth at all,but to go on. I remamber one ocassion at a particular low ebb when I actually formulated it to myself--win , draw or lose, what if it is impossible, if all those who fought and died before did so completely in vain, there is nothing else to do evne if it means that a few fling their corpses in "their" faces,,that empty gesture, what esle can we do

--I am sure that that was the thought of many many revolutionists faced with insuperable difficulties but who could do no else--and who was to say that our difficulties compared to many others elsewhere were insuperable. And what after all did I do--convinced a few people to turn over enough funds so that we could reproduce material wirtten by others and a few articles by ourselves. If this was futile what esle was there to do of any value. I had lost, as Werde jockingly put it,my free will, it was all by now determined, the decisions had been made and I went on--because there was nothing else to do. The odd time you hear about sacrifices that comrades have made--but I have never ever felt that sacrificed anything at all--what havent I got that is worth having. And of course now with the response on the part of such excellent youths as we are attracting---- it is an honor which I sometimes feel hardly worthy of and certainly inadequate before.

I am enclosing an advancex copy of a short report on the Montreal situation. I am proposing that we includes it in the minutes that John has yet to type up. It is a fact--the situation is better than ever. Bob R is going to play a very important role.

John Riddell has taken out a sub to La Presse. I am going to see if I can follow it so that we can collaborate on calling the line in Quebec until such time as we can develop native forces.

The coming issue of La Lutte and so too with the Vanguard will require a major article on the Quebec elections. Possibly we can ru the same article. Think it over.

I do not know what Brian talked about in ~~the~~ the LSO meeting on the election--although I have an idea. ~~I~~ At the conference in his report on the PSQ his line was that the PSQ vote was all that ne could expect for it had to pioneer the idea of socialism--and all we have to do is continue on with the PSQ, develop the constituency forms that it knocked together in five ridings and do good deeds in t building of the PSQ. When I suggested that the PSQ with its fiv candidates ~~[illegible]~~ polled a really insignificant vote an in fact its campaign in the general political scene could be considered by anyone as having any more significance than our one candidate efforts it was met with unbelief. I suggested that it is not at all excluded that the PSQ is w shed up--wasn't it after all an electoral coalition of diverse currents--the independentist MLP, the old PSQ-CCFers, tthe Caucus de Gauche(I havent seen an accurate tendency characterization of this group--and the Socialism 66 intellectuals who if Dubuc is any example ~~[illegible]~~ to all intensts and purposes walked away when the PS went electoral. Apparently even the executive hasn't met--let alone the membership to make an evaluation. Brian hadn't talked with any PSQers neither the Bedard's,, Gagnon's or any rank and file activists. Instead of talking about building the PSQ I expressed the opinion that we should all the more press your Clause three--issue a call for a conference of the QFL, NDP etc. and strenusously advance the idea tthat the PSQ has no future other than as the spark for a labor party and as a caucus within the labor party. In fact in view of the fact that the PSQ is possibly falling completely apart such a drive may be the only way of saving anything in it and in the process winning anything worthwhile to us. As a testament to the viability of the PSQ he mentioned that one of the PSQ campaigns was actually an NDP constituency campaign--the NDP club moved right in. He couldn't see this as evidence that the NDP ~~[illegible]~~ probability once it started to move in Quebec would be unable to stifle pressures to campaign on the provincial plane.

I couldn't get any impression at all that Brian had made ewen an attempt to analyze the overall electoral picture. One of the problems is that he never develops a line--he is full of its and bits of information that he draws out on appropriate ocassions

It weadd seem that the militancy on the trade union plane thanks to the failure of the FTQ and the CSN to pose a political alterantive never went anywhere. I gather from a few comments that the UN made gains in some of the most proletarian unrban seats-in Montreal That there was an anti-Lesage vtoe---I gather his labor minister went down to defeat. So we have a protest vote going UN. My impression from here --u fortunately I am behind in the papers is that within the framework of bourgeois politics the UN vote marked a turn to the right---heavily rural, supported by the the Catholic hierarchy because of the edcuationm question. As for the RIN--Brian first talked of it getting 10% of the vote but under further questioning while emphasizing that in Sept Isles they got an overall majoirty with Bourgault himself getting 30% he sacled it down to 7% where they ran. If I am not mistaken the press was astonished by t e poor showing of the RIN--it apparently watered down its separatist line rejected any concepts of nationalization and actions that would alienate US capital investment. I do not have a picture of the significance of the RIN vote.

And no one could say what the trade union bureaucracy' reaction to the election has been. In the face of the defeat of Lesage and the return on the UN onto the areana--are they thinking in terms of getting behind the lesser evil to defeat the main andcommon enemeny the UN--or are they in the face of the failure of the Liberals thinking more seriously in terms of mvoing out onto the provincial arean with the NDP. Brian didn't know aount the former but he knew that the labor party concept would not be expressed in Quebec through the NDP or some adaptation of the NDP. Probably Combat in the face of the UN victory is calling for somekind of liberal front Bob's report on the NDP was quite interesting. The PSQ has(had) 300 members the NDP has 1,800 now--I think it was pretty well summed up in that paper I sent you

Oh yes there was some discussion about the abstention rate this election as compared in the last federal election and where the abstention rate was highest. This would bear looking into

It seems to me that the election analysis is extremely important for our coming issue of La Lutte--as a test of the dispute in our ranks. I think that it would be good if you could write it fairly quickly and if you could send it on to Montreal--a copy here--for discussion and agreement before publication.

Lots to say but the sub campaigners are coming in an botehring me--they picked up fifteen subs.tonight. The tour is apparently going along fine, It is now 12;15band so it seems certain that they will not be phoning in--they were supposed to have a showing in Kingston tonight. They will be goin on to Ottawa tomorrow. Must prepare my talk tomorrow for the forum on the purges in China....so off in the mail.

warmest regards

Ross

got your note and cheques and letter to Joe

1 Cumberland Street,
Toronto. 7th. June, 1966

Dear Colwyn,

Good to hear from you and to receive the holiday funds. This should serve as a substantial boost in the work of the centre which as you propably know has until recently been allowed to limp along sadley on the left overs from the various family tables.

I hope Dick has been able to round up a few out there and give a picture of the splend -id gathering we had here. This weekend some of us are headed down to Montreal to further bolster them in their efforts.

Today we got the Trailblazers underway to Oshawa, Peterborough, Montreal, Kingston, Ottawa, and across the north towards Edmonton. You will be pleased to meet this team --- younger than ever.

Big things in China these days,

fraternally,

Alan Harris

Alan whose place Ernie has taken after three years in the old country is on his way with Connie to Vancouver. If they can get a car to drive across, they will visit you all in Edmonton in about 7-10 days time.

Monday June 13, 1966

Edmonton

Dear Dick

Just a line---will write at length following the PC meeting. Came in late last night from the Montreal conference.

The knot has been cut-- Mike pulled off the old act but this time the audience revolted and being incapable of apologizing or backing down he gave the branch the alternative in apparently a very arrogant way, of chosing to declare whether he has resigned from the movement or was takning on himself an indeifinite leave of absence. The branhh seized on the former. This was all signed sealed and delivered by the time that I got there. The executive was unanimous in accepting his resignation from the movement and otssing the ball to the Central Committee. I tried to intervene so that a door could be left open---- but to no avail---Bob R put forward my porposal as a motion and it was ovwerwhelmed.

Subsequently Pat, I and Art wnet to see Mike--very sullent--un communicative---insisted on an indeifinite leave of absence--not going to be politically active , stating in Montr al , going to get a job to recoup his financial position. Interestingly enough Wendy was strong behind the branch action--came down participate in the conference quite independent of Mike .

The conference was a big success. Atmosphere very positive confident. Did you meet a Walter--when at the convention--an excellent addition. Bob Silverman has been elected to the PC. Pat M is organizer Bob R played an excellent role---and the situation is very good.

But they are going to need some help with the paper. For instance it would appear to me that no one really follows the press there. It was apparent to me that no one has really made an analysis of the elections. I have a very bad impression of Slocock and his line off the elections. .. bits and snatches to suit some schema.

I am hoping that you can pitch in a bit with the paper. It would be good if you would write them immediately and tell them that you are prpeared to write up an analysis of the elections . I assume that La Presse had good coverage. Tonight we are having a PC meeting and right after that I will write you in detail. But it would be good if you now made the offer right away. Aske them what you can do for them --and tell them what you think you can do.

warmest regards

enslosing a very interesting item that you can read over--first real inofmration on the NDP--Bob R walked up and got it--the rest speculate --looks like they are really oving. PSQ hasn't had a meeting--no one knows what they are thinking. Used your documemnt on the labor party to good effect ---a good document.

June 22, 1966

Bob (12.)

Edmonton

(F.)

Dear Dick

I received a note from Pat this morning in which she very casually states that she has asked you to write an article on the union situation in Quebec--- that you had suggested -offered writing up the elections but that Bob R and herself felt they could handle this very well--better than the union item.

Of course Pat doesn't know the score on this. Possibly with Bob R there they could bang out something however.

Possibly you are writing your contribution up in French. Here is what I suggest so that we do not get in any unnecessary tangle.

The Vanguard is counting on you to submit an article on the Quebec elections. I do not see offhand that we would want any different article than what La Lutte could use.

I would imagine that you are writing in English and translating. Why not make two copies of the English article--send us one and La Lutte the other--oh yes keep a third. When they get your English article I am confident that they will want to use it. No doubt you have told them that you are writing up the election for the Vanguard. Good--- They can after they read your article either get it translated in Montreal or write back asking you to translate.

I do not see that they need an article on the tradeunion situation in Quebec which right now is being eclipsed by BC and elswehre in Canada. You are probably too busy ~~xxxxx~~anyway

I think that it is most important that we do not get into unnecessary disputes with Montreal which is under considderable strain right now . They need out help

When can Vanguard get copy from you.....I have told Alan in Vancouver to have his here by the 28th and earlier if possible.

The tour seems to be going fine---will wirte later.

warmest regards

Ross

June 29, 1966

Edmonton;

Dear Dick (P.)

Yes there is still time---time to meet your proposal that this coming issue carry the article on the Socialist Caucus developments . All kinds of things are happening to frustrate my plans and we will be able to adjust the July issue for this article. So we will see it here aafter the weekend. I am sending this specialdelivery so you will know tommorrow at the latest.

Got the article on the Quebec elections alright--- I think that it is very good---only complaint is that it is about 19 pages of copy and the paper is only forty. So I am going to have to cut at least a third. Hope I am able to do this with the correct combination of [redacted] senstivity to your handwork and the politics of the situation

I was speaking to Bob S over the phone yesterday..he tells me that he wi ll be unable to get in for the weekend because the PSQ is going to have its evalua ation of the situation-or will it be the fumeral oration. It is important he go as the cnly one who can understand French, along with Walter probably. I asked him if he had got their copy of your article--he hadn't seen it. I hope you have sent it. I think they will make the change alright. I made a large contribution on the whol question during the conference. Bob S presented the PSQ oritentation as against the labor party orientation and I warm up to his arguements as he is so sincere and honest. Then I gather from John that last weekend's conference at the cottage saw Pat carry the argument very ably.

Possibly you know but we are subscribing to La Presse here--John is going through it each day and tearing important material which I intend to read--we will be keeping a clipping folio for all PCers who will learn to at least read French. [redacted] There will be difficultues but I think we will be able to come through alright. I am going to propose that Pat and Bob come up once a month--and so we will have a sort of editorial meeting here, build their authorit up rather than meet problems by sending in foreign dignitaries periodically

One short criticism of the election article. I think that there should be a few positive words of solidarity with the PSQ's going into the fray in face of the failure of the trade union brass. Started to read Tomlin while John R. was hav ing lunch- What I read was very good. Can we have about 15 copies of it?

a note--you should knew that we are not supporting any desire to colonize Peterboror. Instead this comrade is coming into Toronto. And we certainly not forgetting Edmonton. I hope you will have a strong appeal to John L when he comes thro. Will write later warmest regards Ross

July 17th 1966

Edmonton

Dear Dick

John is back from his holidays and I am picking this up while waiting for Jeff--it's his day off and we have arranged to go and see a couple of printing outfits to add to our mechanical equipment ---as you can see from YSF we need a headliner----our eyes are not good enough to depend on Letraset-ting the heads.

While I am at it I will check on the paper. Locked it all up Friday afternoon--the insert was already being run off. Since we are doing the paper letterpress you dont get any copies until it is more than half run off and the press run is a big 10,000. With Merchants press the first copy came off complete. I am hoping we will get some of the papers today but probably we wont until tomorrow.

The insert is quite good in my opinion. The tour will be able to put it to good use right into the Fall. We have reproduced Russell's June 18 statement in full. And along with it on the front I have written an edit in our name declaring that we are going to indict Pearson at Russell's war criminal tribunal--I think a good indictment --outlining Canadian complicity. Then overleaf we have run Russell's secretary's statement on his trip to North Vietnam--in part-- very powerful, particularly his use of Britain's determiniation never to negotiate--the most effective response to the negotiation line crap I have come across.

I do not know what you are going to think about your contrinhutions. You will note that as they stand they make up one quarter of the paper I had drastically cut the Quebec article as it was but then-----toni came through with her column, the tour came through with its column and we wanted them both---so there was nothing to do but cut 14 inches of type out on the stone. I never like cutting this way because you cannot make any transtion. And another 14 inches after you feel that you have already cut is a hard thing to take. The German stuff was carry over from the previous issue as I did not know the new printers count.

A lot of things missing from this issue---probably the most important --The Chinese Purges, then there was a need for a popular article on housing or prices(needed for the tour) the Negro struggle in the US, The British LP developments--end of the strike and Cousin' resignation etc etc.

The next issue of Vanguard I think will have to come out close on the heels of the August 6-9 demonstrations. We have to clear the tour of that dated headline as soon as possible...cant give them another August 6-9 one. It would be best ff we had everything in here by August 1st then we could throw the August 6-9 deatails in at the last moment to get the paper into their hands about a week later.

Let me knw what you have in mind. And by the way when are you going to take it easy--writing writing. Yes, I think it would be an excellent idea to have a pamphlet on the Canadian independence idea. Allan E has witten to me along the same line and I have suggested that he strike

up a corr spondence with you. Possibly it could be a collaboration. I suggested something a little broader--Canada-US relations--he had in mind not a pamphlet but an article for the ISR. But then if they would print what we want we could have both---we could use the type they set for the ISR and put it through our press in a pamphlet form.

I suggested that he get any and all ideas you have ---and then--- remind you that you have yet to write an educational scholcarly rebuttal to the Bourhis articles.

Incidently the SWP wrote us and asked for some more of our internal bulletins. They asked for the Bourhis items on the MLP. Now I could have sworn that you wrote a reply to that liquidationist article. I know we talked about our having to clear it away since the Bourhis article was in our archives. We did put out a bulletin contriburion by you didnt we? I dont have any on file. I will have to go through our unindexed piles of stencils to run some off. For I am not sending off Mike's wit out our reply ,if we made one.

It seems that things have been smoothed over with Montreal with regards to ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ the writing of the Quebec article. Bob wrote me a note this morning in which he encloses the line--"Got a fine letter from Dick." But there are other problems which they will have yet to face. Bob Silverman was in on Saturday and voiced some complaunts to me. It appears that Bob and Pat presented the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ board to the branch as being composed of themselves and John D. This caused either Bob S or Brian to raise the matter of minority representation. They proposed that Edith come on the editorial board--I gather they suggested that she was easier to get along with. Edith accepted and Bob S said nothing. In passing the matter came up as to whom the edit board was responsible. At first Pat said the branch --Bob R said the PC--and Pat agreed. Now Bob S is on the EC. It appears that he asked to see your article. At first they weren't going to show it to him but he remined them that he was on the CC. They showed it to him, listened to what he had to say and it was left at that. So when he was here he asked me what he should do. It was obvious on the basis of the ~~xxxxxxxx~~ discussion we had that he is opposed to the article. He disagrees with your estimation of the separatist question. Knowing that it is going into ~~xxx~~ La Lutte substantially as it is should he demand to see the article as it now stands, should he protest to the CC etc etc.

It seems apprarent to me that he as a CC member should be on the edit board. Pat is coming in next Tuesday ,we will hold a PC meeting and discuss the whole question.

Pat's feeling about Mike, the danger that we might make some deal at "the expense" of the Montreal branch appears to have some substance. I gave Mike the minutes and the enclosed report on the conference. He told me that he had not wanted a leave of absence from the PC ~~xxx~~--CC but from the Montreal branch. Of course I handled this in a matter of fact way--that that was not at all what he said to the N.C. members who interviewed him. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ He said he couldn't work in the Montreal branch .How the hell he expects to be a member of our movement and not work in the local

August 10, 1966

Edmonton

Dear Colwyn

Thanks very much for the copies of Socialism and Professors I watned them to acquaint the comrades with your action at Banff --particularly our comrades-at-large .

I of course read both the Manifesto for the Caucus and the frmoer article just as soon as they came in. A sort of a scan reading and my general impression was very good. However as soon as I get a few very pressing matters cleared away I will reread them both and give you a more considered impression.

I went to Ottawa over the August 6 demonstration to participate in it---raise the banner with the Vanguard as there are no open Trotskyists there---and to discuss the formation of an LSA branch . The latter will be launched within a few weeks. First time we have ever had anything in Ottawa.

Did Dick show you the clipping from La Presse re the arrest of four of our comrades--rather the dementionn overnight by the Montreal police. The Last issue of La Lutte called for a serious action by the left against this brazen police infringement on civil rights and now it looks like we have a perfect case. The comrades were circulating the leaffets on the International Days of Protest actio s in Montreal.

comradely

Ross D

August 16, 1966

Edmonton;

John R
Fred Callaghan
Bob R
Jim O

Dear Dick (P

Finish the letter--hell I have just about concluded that I have not time to put out the Vanguard, let alone carry on national corres pondence.

Here it is the 16th and it is obvious that all the copy will not be into the printers until the weekend--and this weekend Franz Lee is hitting town.

Yesterday I was all set to really take a bite when Bob and Maralyn come in ---Bob with a whole sheaf of things that he thinks must be taken up. Today of course it was my stand in the store--and the day in it didn't give me enough time to do the necessary ordering, bill paying etc to keep it operating, let alone read the paper--edit and cut Art's article that he must have had a hard time getting into here . Supper-time--- why Jeff brought over a contact to discuss with us--and after that I had to write up a motion for Fred C to present to his local--- the one Jim O helped him draft up he concluded and rightly so was not satisfactory and he needed the resolution by 7;30. I mananged to keep out of the trade union caucus meeting but I couldn't escape the area completely. Then Brian D drops in--he has pulled out of the St Clair Vae apartment, with some of our furniture still in it, with no lock on the door and some naive belief that since he gave the janitor half a months rent that he is clear of it--and another comrade who wants it he hasn't seen to make any arrangments at all about it. None of my business I suppose--but we have straightened that up.

Well yesterdays supper meeting was worthwhile---we are preparing to move out and build neighborhood anit-Vietnam-war groups--at supper I pressed upon Peter that rather than just go off and do it we should raie the matter again at that evenings Toronto Co-ordinating Committee meeting. Not argue, if they dont want to discuss not even discuss but raise it so that we do not give anything to any charges that are certain to come that we are splitting the movement. John R phoned me this morning to tell me that the Co-ordinating committee has agreed with the whole idea and so we are off to build neighborhood membership clubs. This will probably set the movement back politically some but it will give us the possiblity of building a base that we can educate. That evening we discussed all the pros and cons of two headline making machines that we have been looking over. We finally decided to by the strip printer used at $200 with ten fonts rather than the free foto-writer with fonts at $22 each. Last week we brought a used plate maker.at $200. This now means that any one of three comrades now working in the shop will be albe to make plates as the operation is a controlled one. Our old and tricky equipment will be going out to Vancouver. Hugh is making a sharp light table and so the shop is equipped

Havent had time to visit Bill Veal who it turnes out never had ulcers at all but kidney stones. He had his operation on Friday--saw him Thursday but not since the operation which Gus said was tricky as he had two tubes coming down from one kidney and one of them was badly dilated.. It appears that as soon as this operation heals they are going to work on the other kidnsy. Fortunately he is on welfare. Toni is now out of hospital with her little girl Megan and tonight Harry Paine who has been suffering from swollen joints over the past few weeks phones to say that he is taking toni's place at St Michael's with an attack of jaundice(hepatitis)

But I am getting rid of one little worry--your excellent stimulating extremely educational movie review. I agree ,agree completely--always have --that we should carry reviews of movies, particularly one like Zhivago but not one that will take up almost one sixth of our tiny paper. I am sure you expect me to cut it --after all we are not a literary or cultural review but I refuse to take on the responsibility of cutting this review in one half

And that is the reason for this little note----not a pretence of taking up necessary correspondence but so you wont have a hemmorage when you pick up the August issue when I finally do get it out and you find no movie review.

How are you making out with John L. We gave the orders but as you have probably found there are complications--- human,all too human complications. Oh yes--last night took time out to have a personal talk with Coleen,a big factor I see in the whole project. Probably wrote him immediately as I told her after a talk with John that we felt that Toronto could survive with her going

Hope you have given the tour the shots about getting some subs--literature sales are a very expensive way for the store to finance the tour

warmest regards

Ross

Edmonton
Dec

Sept 7/66

Carbon Current

Page 3(+) missing also

(1 PAGE REMAINING)

Pat Bram Jim Smychuk Don ___
John S ?

than they are. John is really an intelligent fellow. Probably you will find him irritating at times. He questions everything and holds onto any positions that he feels have not been pulled out from under him. He has been carrying on an argument for a while in the youth on free will and determini -ah yes--you will recall Novack's comments at the convention--they were addressed to John's arguments. But you will curb your irriation in view of the fact that he is young, intelligent and a completely committed revolutio ary. My impression is that both he and Colleen even in what is really the ~~narrow~~ cadre movement that we are are cadre material....they are cadre ~~of~~ the cadre. So you have a real opportunity to shape the cadre.in Edmonton in the coming year.

The railway strike was a big experience for Toronto. We were a litle off the beam in leaflet number three--the one I wrote alas. Of course we took an equivocal position on the stage of the strike but on the optimistic side--largely from information supplied us by the Montreal militants that three of the comrades--Pat B ,Jim O and Don D met.on their weekend trip to Montreal. We had two big problems---one that in the process of the wildcat that Local 26 got caught up in and the early days of the strike the militants who were in leadership of the local caved in. When the company moved in against Donaghue they thought they would pull a fast one by turnin over the leadership of the local to the national office...they voluntarily went into receivership despite all out efforts to stop them. So we lost the leverage that control of a local would have given us during the strike. Two---that there was not only a crisis of leadership on the top levals but right down onto the local levels in all the rail unions. The Toronto Co-ordinating Committee of CBRT locals did not open up anything for us. --and a cross union co-ordinating body which Smith oked were not even able to get off the ground because of the paralysis of the Toronto CBRT co ordinating committee. We only moved out with the leaflets when ~~xxxxxx~~ finally after playing out yard after yard of rope it became absolutely and unmistakeably clear that nothing would appear otherwise. Jim O was vice-president of the Co-ordinating committee and Fred Don G and he were authorized editors of a bulletin. They just sat on top of one issue and then another-giving everybody a veto of every item. We were finally reduced to concentrating our attempts to break out of Local 26 to building the labor day parade. Unfortunately the railway unions havent participated in the parade for fifteen years. Only John S local was formally involved. Of course we had distributed leaflet no 2 calling for a stay out vote to every meeting we could find out about and there were hafl a dozen--but at the parade we managed to make contact with some militants from ohter locals. Labor Day night we held a small gathering at one of the comrades' homes and we have about a dozen turn out besides ourselves. That night the boys put on a demonstration at the deisel area of the N Toronto humpyard and pulled out part of a shift, and made some other worthwhile contact it would appear--however the tide was definitely turned by then--in fact we would not have done what we did that night if I had been able to contact the comrades I think as it was apparent that Montreal for all its talk had not established any real connection even where they were strong -in the shop crafts.

We had a meeting yesterday and we are all confident that we have an operating tool in the Committee for Militant Action (CMA????) We have decided to publish a short essay on the lessons of the strike which we will be able to circulate around and we have also decided to drawu up a ba c program for a railway workers caucus ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~---The process of the strike saw a sorting out take place in the comrades. ~~xxxxxx~~ The comrades met every day at 5 to discuss what had been happening and project future actions. Fred C really developed, even became vocal, demonstrated the most initiative

October 5, 1966

Michel Mill? André Drocet?
Pat Mitchell

Edmonton;

Dear Dick;

Got yourletter a while back and responded immediately but in the other ~~direction~~ direction---Montreal. Glad you brought my attention to the arrival of Michel and Andre in Montreal and our recruit (new) --and what this means with respect to the organizer. Of course when we talked at the PC meeting about the organizer neither situation existed and while the arrival of Michel and Andree was in the cards it didn't even come up. No one talked in any terms other than Pat---and I am afraid that some of the comrades dont even to think in any other terms. I have had several small experiences that show a lack of sensitivty to the national question--possibly part of the aftermath from the first struggle with Mike. At anyrate I immediately sat down and wrote Pat a long letter telling her that we were now faced with the great opportunity--the opportunity of ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ developing a French-Canadian leadership now. That she could not be the organizer but that the biggest contribution she could make would be to educate the best French Canadian comrade no matter how inadequate he or she may be from the point of view of our tradition and many of our concepts to be the organizer.

This was a somewhat difficult letter to write--but it could not be left until she come up here for the Toronto branch conference--it had to be done immediately so we can pull back and take the right course. I havent heard from her yet but I feel confident that Pat as much as she wants to work full time for the movement will understand this situation. Unfortunately I do not know any of the French comrades so I do not know what other problems it posses for us I did not wait for a CC meeting as you suggested in your letter.

I wanted to reply to another aspect of your letter at once but had to postpone it until now. I have been trying to squeeze the paper out of our new shop--and now Wednesday afteroon when every minute couts if we are to get it out in time for the Ontario convention this weekend it would seem certain that we are not going to get it--so I have time to write this short note ~~xxxx~~

Of course it is unfortunate that the September issue is coming out in October. I think I told you that just as I was taking copy down to Garden City they phoned me with the message that their estimate had proved wrong now that they had run off three issues and they wanted to correct it---wrong by 50%. I had been expecting this or something like this as ever since the run in I had with them on the Bertrand Russell insert there has been a very cold reception from the big chiefs there. I didn't say no and for a while on the basis of the poor reception that we were getting from other shops I thought for a period that we might have to go back even though the price is outrageous and it is obviously designed to get rid of us. After failing to get any response from several of the label shop I went down to the union--then pestered a couple of shops they suggested who turned us down. Was beginning to wonder if we would not have to do something despearate to get the label--we cant come out without it when Helen and I sat down and sent a letter to every label shop in the city--special one time typed letters.

Over the next two weeks qotations started to dribble in along with refusals Some of the quotations might have just as well been refusals the prizes were so high. Finally we ended up with a range of quotations from $600 to $180. equally absurd and two more or less reasonable one. The truthbis we found that there are not actually many shops who are in a psotion to handle a tabloid--that is without having to farm some of it our--either the setting, the composition or the press work not that they dont have something in each field but they dont have a competive set up

s all three. The two more or less reasonable bids had the same set up. more or less ---one did the linotyping and the lock up--but not the press work--and harassing them after a couple of days I dound that they had not really solved the problem of the label althoug they themselves were label--a union paper they had taken in wnet out wit out the label because of the press work. The other shop does the composition and press work but not the typesetting. . "e have taken this one on.

"e ll the press work and composition is being done away up on "inch--took me an hour and a half to get there the other day--what makes it possible is that the typesetting shop is on "padina at Queen. They committed themselves to taking the first pule of copy on a Monday and the second on the "ednesady and getting the paper out Friday. Well it looks like the typesetting is not going to make it this issue but I suppose we cannot raise particular hell --the first issue. The typesetter apologized that he had to get liners for our column width etc. Besides between you and I we are going to have to tread lightly as really this is our best business choice by far.

But to the point---as I am still going to press them as soon as I get anything from them and so will be unable at this time to take up your document on the LP quest ion which Bob K says is reminiscent of the old man's stuff (Sic) and Eanglers contribution.

I do not understand your comments about the conferences called to further dis cuss the Quebec question and the matter of your participation in the discussion. Those dates are tentative ones--how they effect your attendance is in my opinion quite important. Furthermore your participation in the discussion is of primary importance--that is regardless of ~~attendance~~ whether you can attend or not

You ~~may not say anything about~~ say nothing about your literary contribution to the discus sion. I assume that your sentence about"being out of touch with the developments in Quebec now " ~~expresses~~ has nothing to do with the contribution, that everyone anticipates you are going to make to the literary, which is after all the most important, part of the discussion.

The December 17-18 date was suggested as there was considerable doubt that comrades would want to participate in a conference over the Christmas holiday weekend ~~Have you no reaction to the suggestion~~ I take it from your comments you are unable to attend that weekend but you were intending to come East for the Christmas holiday ---that the Christmas day weekend is suitable to you . How about dropping me a line as to what the most suitable dates are for you. I think that yourparticipation is so important that we should make considerable efforts to adjust the conference to your schedule.

I would also like you to reassure us that you are going to be able to have a significant contribution to the whole discussion here sometime around November 1

I will write at considerable length over the weekend--and then will tear into the October issue of the paper...to catch up. The contact us column now has an Ottawa address listed--and of course the November 11 project is steaming ahead merrily---bold action in Vancouver with Duncan eh waht

warmest regards Ross

1 Cumberland
Toronto, October 23, 1966

Edmonton

Dear Coral (S.)

Sorry to be so long in answering your note of October 6,

We would have written you about this matter shortly asking you about dues however we have not yet got John W swinging in here to give me a hand with the office. But here goes;

Everyone who is a member of the League must pay dues as laid dwn in the constitution. At our last convention we decided that these dues would be turned over to the central office. Dues of course are obligatory. The amount is small so they will be in no way restrictive. But they are necessary in order to establish the fo mal relationship of membership. I would think that it would be satisfactory if you were to send them on say every second or third month if this imm makes the bookkeeping chore easier.

I gather that some of the comrades who are members of the League are also members of the youth. Of course they will have to pay youth dues also. I would imagine that youth dues are also a token amount so this will create no hardship. I would think that the youth NO would be satisfied if you were to forwarded their dues every second or third month. I am assuming that their central office requires full payment of dues from members at large--which I think is your status.

Because the bulk of the youth are with little or no income the central office is agreeable that whatever pledge those comrades who have dual membership can make to sustain the movement in its daily work in Edmonton should go to the youth movement, rather than the adult.

We would hope that the adult movement, the branch in Edmonton, would find itself in good enough financial position to finance its own activities---and the activities of the youth when necessary. If however this should not prove possible on occasion the central office is prepared to consider aiding you in your work.

comradely

L-?. Kopy to ?

Ross Dowson

John L and Harry K left last night for a quick jaunt through the campuses in Hamilton, Kitchenee and London. I do not know what commitments and obligations that the former has with you out there but I will see that his stay here is qyite short.

October 26, 1966

Edmonton;

Dear Dick; (F.)

Well if John L's story to a drive a car out company doesn't crack up under investigation he will be leaving here tomorrow. You can be sure he was not holidaying here. He and Harry K just came back into town yesterday after a three-day jaunt into Hamilton, Guelph, Kitchener Waterloo. They made some very valuable contacts in all campuses and have assured that there will be something of value carried out on Nov 11 on a couple of them at least. I suppose you have received the progress reports from the U of T committee and you can see how this is taking on a trult national form. NThe big gap is the Quebec campuses. Material was sent to normal channels but no response. So Claire translated the appeal, Andree went over it and we ran it off our press in thousands. The LSO will see to it that it is circulated on the U of M capus at least. Havent heard whether there has been any result as yet.

Thanks for the carbon copy of the letter you sent to Bob R on the last La Lutte. While your criticism is correct I felt that it was very harsh and could only xxxxxxxx have results different than what you want. It is probable that Bob will bear up ,grin and thank you. But he wrote me what I would call axxxxxxxxxxx letter.of anguish. Of course yourmost important criticism was on the lead editorial which I made not as roundedly when I first received a copy from Pat's hands. Otherwise I thought that the issue was a big success---what with your article and my article(even a little late but no matter) meeting the needs of a xxxxxx Quebec journal. The other material--Castro and the item on China of course were very good to see in French. The comrades are really doing things with the paper----and that is the other big aspect. They have sold over 500 individual copies.--they really movedin on the CSN convention---on two ocassions if I am not mistaken--then non the demonstration xxxxx in support of the La Chute workers. Probbly you have heard of the very successful forums at 66--Pat's , Bob's xxR and now Bob S'. Did you know that we have aluncched the youth group--and with Walter's help(a very fine bilingual youth-a student now proletar-anizing himself as a pressman's helper at something like $1 an hour it is expanding

I think that the comrades arevresponding magnificently--and they need our help. I think they understand the problems--rather know about them. In many ways they do not feel adequate to the task, but they are in there. We have a very hard and dedicate core. I am confident that these comrades with La Lutte are going to make the breakthrough for us. Of course they want our criticism--they need our help. Yes, they needed an article on the RR strike. I think that they could have hhndled it but xxx I tried to encourage them but they decided to depend on the Vanguard. But I failed them. I know that you really are aware of the problems there, the weak points of our forces there and even more the feeling of inadequacy which has to be overcome but your letter which of course flows from your concern and desire to aid doesn't read that way.

We have undergone a big growth but we have some big problems. We have excellent comrades, hard working dedicated fighters, talented in many ways---but inexperienced and serious--seriously awareof their inexperience. Fortunately not so that they are paralyzed. But they need to be brought along--not mollycoddled- but brought along.
An incident---the Saturday afternoon before the Toronto conference Jeff along with all the leading activists in the league got together. Cliff had to leave early so I took the store. I could have arranged to have someone else look after the store for the few hours but then I thought why not leave them to discuss the Newseltter etc. So I did. The next day when there was a little break I got talking to Jeff and discovered that they had in all intents and purposes sunk the Newsletter. I hurriedly gathered a croe of leading comrades together and very quickly--it even amazed me---reveresed the whole direction. This so shook up Jeff who is a very able comrade that I left the conference with him for about an hoursdiscussion. It appeared to me that there has been so much dissatisfaction expressed about tehe Newsleeter by various comrades that Jeff had come to feel that the work in putting it out--particularly the wrangling with Levine and the compromises with Finn and Peter Mix were not worth it. Furthermore they were convinced that Levine was going to be able to move in on it and for some reason rather than fight it would be better to beat the gun by proposing it be switched over to the Carleton committee which is having very grave difficulties in operating or the U of T committee which is alreay up to its ears in work and at anyrate can get along with its information bulletin for the coming month black mail them into turning it over to them or else it would go ahead with a publication of its own. At anyrate it was built up on a whole series of misinterpretations, on impatience with working with persons who we are in disagreement with, illusions that it is easy to publish such a bulletin etc etc.

and here it is Monday and much as I hate to do this as you have raised a whole series of important matters in various letters I am going to send this note on as is totally unfinished. I am trying to get the paper out this week--and with a break---that is not too much interference such as Mac's visit this afternoon and then Dalton and the preapring of the leaflet for the printer(Nov 12 leaflet) I may well get the paper out.

I will know by Wednesday afternoon---if I get stymied I will pick up this letter right away.

This morning I sent you a small stock of Novack's pamphlets---nothing on Existentialism as Alan wrote in that his order of some weeks had not been filled so we sent all we had first class to Vancouver.

Had to attend two sessions of the Portuguese Amnesty conference--after all Armando is active in this circle and we have made friends there. A hellish bore to hear the sad story of life under Salazar repeated with very little variation hour after hour...and not a word said about the social or class base of the Salazar regime and the class or social haracter of the forces lined up against it. I got up after Andy Brewin spoke to raise this great bugabboo---they platform fumbled but afterwards several people came over to thank us---then on Sunday afternoon I moved out cutting across their pious appeals to the Portuguese ambassador in Ottawa, to our own PM who if he only knew the situation etc. The CP had a pack of people there representing nothing--all very nervous about anti-fascist unity. Once I opened up several others got off their hands

warmest regards

Ross

I was in fairly good form

Edmonton

December 2, 1966

Dear John (L?)

Well I see you made it. I was wondering if you got through to Edmonton. The only evidence that you probably had was that we have not been getting any mail asking when you would be coming out. I was going to phone up your folks but then since we are comrades they would have only naturally assumed that you would have dropped us a line on your safe arrival

Of course the Vanguard Bookstore will advance you some books. I have just shipped off in the mail to you a fairly braod assrotment of books and pamphlets . There are four parcels. I noted your new address but thought it better to send them to the box--Workers Vanguard box just in case you are not home when the postman knocks. They are costing you $89.26. This is giving you ax 20% discount. I think that it is a good assortment--you should be able to sell them without trouble.

Next time you order from Merit dont ask them for anything like the Marx-Engàls, Lenin titles. They only have to order them from International Publishers. They probably get a short discount and then there are the shipping costs. Just order Merit titles from Merit. We will get you the other stuff--we probably already have it.

We have no objection at all to carrying an account with you. I just hope that you widl make regualr even if small payments on it.

Coming in on the final run of the campaign....so I am not going to say much. Glad when it is over--have been up every morning at 6 the last week and up late as usual every night. Art has been doing a good job. We have been getting phone calls of support. Last night a fellow came up to Art at city hall and gave him a donation of a buck--never had this happen before. The Riddell campaign is having some impact on the students even though the weather is against our meetings near the schools. Joan went down to Montreal for a week and a few days so I had to fill in as campaign director while others took turns on the store. Having an important civil rights meeting in Montreal tonite through these efforts with an FTQ vice-president on the platform along with reps of the two civil rights organizations. Bea is going down for the Committee on Quebec. Generally the Toronto campaign is getting the same old blackout--but not so with Vancouver---Jean is getting on both TV and radio and according to Dick Prinsepxx is handling herself very well.

And from where I stand Edmonton looks pretty good.

Dick P-

fraternally

Bea B

Ross

Harry S

DDecembber44,19666

Hans & Regula M

Edmonton;

Last Thurdday I had a sinking feeling when I noticed a letter in the mail from our new printer---yes we are without a printer again. LaSalle Press informed us after puting out two issues that the paperbox outfit with whom they have their main contract has been pressing more and more work on them and they are having to drop all their other projects--including our five to 6 hour job once a month. When I phoned him he was all apologies--there were other problems too---the sub contractors hadn't come across as they should have for us and he had had to spend some considerable time chasing them on our behalf and he couldn't afford that time either. Very sorry but there we are.

So on the chase again. Expect to have a solid quotation from the one other shop t that we were trying to work out something with but which hadn't settled the union label question at the time. He told me he would let me know Friday but then phoned me that Monday he will have the information for us. We will probably put the next couple of issues out regardless of the price for after January first Leslie Saunders' son takes over Britannia Press and he said he would be interested once the old xxxxm biggot pulls out of the business.

Can hardly wait until Harry finishes his apprenticeship. We will have to allocate some funds for the purchase of a Chief offsett press and with the label do the press work ourselves.

Got a letter from John the other day re books and have sent about $80 worth assorted to your new address. Hope they meet everyone's approval. Sent them to the box as I do not know that anyone would be home to receive the four big parcels.

Finished off the election distributions this Sunday morning. Hans, Regual and a very fine contact,myself ended our contribution at 3 this morning doing the Jameson Avenue apartments blocks. At the same time a four man team wound up our posting acorss the city. All in all a very successful effort. The comrades didn't pitch in as much as I had hoped but then again we were carrying two campaigns. My impression is that Art did very well. I was unable to hear him at any of the meetings but Hans and Bill V took him to some and told me that he was good. The youth campaign was a little more snesational and my impression is that John did very well. The wind-up social last night was one of the best we have had. I thought both leaflets were good --better than the ones we have had in other years although not qualitatively so. The blac out was as complete as heretofore. ...except for Saturday's Globe and Mail four column picture of John and campaigners and slogans outside of Harbor collegiate. And of course early in the campaign there was that ome real break with Givens' petulant outbreak again Art.

The campaign suffered a bit from the fact that we sent Joan out of the store down to Montreal to cemable us to carry through on the civil rights case we are involved in. At a bad time---when we wanted to get the store moving towards Chistmas and handle the election mapping etc. But the Montreal project was a big success too. Finally cnvinced Bea that she had to go as a rep of the Committee on Quebec. She phoned me this morhing to tell me that while there was only an audience of 40 (which I think is not bad) it was a big success from the point of view of who particip ated. I take it you got a copy of the leaflet on the meeting. Well Des Droits delHomme not only sent a speaker but took over sponsorship and provided a chairman. Walsh of the CP came as a speaker. The RIM sent a speaker--some woman--who took a sectarian defeatist view--you know this is what we can expect until we take power. According to Bea Pat did a good job and Bea was well received. So now we will be holding a meeting here in Toronto of the Quebec committee --we are asking someone from the Des Droits to come.

I am enclosing a copy of the original petition with the signatures of the entire group that identified themselves with it. What with the more recent developments Bob went around and saw McNught, Macpherson and Willmot and got them to put their name to a renewed protest--a much shorter one--warning Belaunde that suhh actions have cueeded in stifling opposition but have only served to discreditting their practitioners. I am only sending you one copy of the petition as I think that it is very poorley laid out and of course in the light of recent developments and the U of T petition you might like to reword the whole thing.

Twent five cents is one hell of a price for that little pamphlet of the Socialist Caucus. And aren't you giving us a discount? Dont quite get the drawing on the cover. Looks like one of those party favors--crackers I think they are called --all noise no contents--a joke. Otherwise qyite a nice little job. Think we will give it a short review along with a few other itmes in the coming Vanguard--coming.....

No truth ahwatosever in the runours of resignations from the Tribunal. Yes as you note some from the Russell Foundation. But the Tribunal is well off the ground and moving from success to success. Dedijer is really enthusiastic. ..so is Sartre. They had a very big meeting in Paris with Sartre starting off in support of Blanco. Here in Toronto we were hoping to get Fineberg to lead off as a sponsor but he pulled back. This weekend Ken Warren is off to meet Gerassi in New York Dellinger is coming on the Tribunal. We will be corresponding with you on this as soon as we hear from Ken--in a matter of days.

What is my approach re the PC minutes. Why I think they are the way they have to be. I think that we are quite correct with regards to Alan circulating his document for discussion among the leaders of the youth and to Ottawa. On the basis of this document the leading comrades almost scrpaed the Canadian Vietnam Newsletter. Jeff came in all hopped up, fed up with the difficulties of working with our opponents full of speculation, a meeting was called of all the leading comrades and they came to unanimous agreement that we should scrap the newwletter and have the U of T Committee wtart to put out a campusnwpaper. I was unable to attend that little gathering but the next day --the day of the Toronto conference I got talking to Jeff asked him a few questions and quickly grapsed what a monstrous error we were about to comit. I got most of the comrades together quickly and just before Jeff left for home convinced them that they were totally wrong. This was a very bad experience. Through Alan's circulation of this material we had a real alignment of forces beofre the PC could even take it up.

I will certainly bring this specific part of your letter to the attention of the CC and it will be dealt with at the next meeting.

Thought that the SWP handling of the Tate case--the appeal to the national leadership to expell the hooligans and place Healy on trial--was brialliant. Anxious to see what comes out of it. Deutscher had Healy come to his home with Ernie already there. Healy admitted the whole thing and Deutcher ordered him out of his home with the former calling t e latter a petit-bourgeois.

Good to hear about the house.

Will write again as soon as the paper is out.

warmest regards

The Vancouver campaign is getting some real publicity breaks

1 Cumberland Street
Toronto, Canada

December 5, 1966

Entwistle;

Dear Joe ;

Hope you got Their Morals and Ours. I see that I did not note on your letter that I sent it but for some reason I feel positive that I did--and at once.

Today is the day that we will get a sort of formal picture of the impact of our election campaign here in Toronto. The Vancouver campaign for mayor is still underway. How did you like the leaflets? The new young candidates did very well indeed. The usual blackout but got one break with Art Young when the Star reported a tangle he had with the Mayor and another break with John Riddell when the Globe and Mail carried a four column picture and an article on his camapigning outside one of the local high schools among the students. This year the labor brass confused the picture more than ever by endorsing a wide range of liberals and Tories---there are only a couple of candidates who in anyway identify with the NDP--and the CP campaign is the most otkenist yet. They are running one of their leaders Phyllis Clarke--formerly of Alberta -- their leaflet mankes no suggestion of labor and of course no metion of socialism or even Vietnam.

The youth campaign was in many respects quite sensational. We hope to write all this up as soon as we can solve this damn printing problem. We are without a printer again. I dont feel that this is political discrimination--at least not directly but it no doubt is always a factor. Our latest printer claims that he just doesn't have time to ahdnle it as he is formly committed by contract with other outfits. I was hoping that today we would know where we stand with one of the last outfits available. We have copy waiting to toss in. It is now clear to even me that we are going to have to start to put some money aside to buy our own offset press. We now have a young comrade working as an apprentice but he wont be a journeyman and thereby qualified formally to run our press and cerry a union lable with him for another 18 months. But of course it willtake us a while to raise the necessary money for the press. A bloody rotten situation but there appears to be no alternative.

Well do you know a fellow by name P.E. Lacosta in Eyley, Alberta? I am enclosing a copy of a letter that we received the other day. Of course he may not be a contact of your--its possible now that things are really opening up in Edmonton that he has made contact this way--or then again through the tour. I have replied to the letter and I will let you know immeidately when he responds so we can decide how to approach him next.

Godd news about the headquarters(?) in Edmonton. Probably Dick wrote you that some of the comrades have rented a house and there will be space available to provide us with the first area that could be called in a se se a headquarters.

comradely

Ross Dowson

Saturday Jan 7 ? 1966

John R
Arty

Montreal

Dear Pat (Mitchell)

Didn't get off to a good start with this typewriter here in the store. But it was good to hear from you---the rest are in the back room mailing the paper---I have done the new wrappers and now have about an hour handy. to say a few words.

Yes, we are managing to get along ok. Of course your and John's absence is felt--probably mostly by Art who is having one hell of a time getting up= He makes commitments and then cant come through--then unlike yourself he has a tendency to delay taking actions . It is a hard school but I am sure that he will survive. I hope that he gets the weekend to take things easy.

Havent heard from John R -- but I understand that that the youth have-- He didn't gave him fifty dollars when he left for emergency

Terrible thing happened last week. Hard to take--but I have been rejected by my own flesh and blood. The editors of the YSF did not accept my article on Le Corbusier this issue. I gave them an ultimatume---decided to publish it in 10 days or turn it back so I can submit it elsewhere. Alas I do not have toogood a bargaining position as the Vanguard willalso reject it according to the editor.

But a few words about the more important things---what kind of a movement is that that sets itself tasks--1% of which it can achieve---but I am without prejudice.

I was a little disturbed with one particular comment on your report of the CCMG discussion on entering candidates in the coming provincial elections. point 4 " Press other organizations other than the CP to run candidates. I stressed the bad aspects of only the CP running and suggested that if we couldn't get others we should try and get them behind one of us . Comrades very cautious here. Seemed originally to be resigned to CP running only which I think is most unsatisfacoty. They agreed to press others."

Dick when he first told me about the CCMG tended to write it off. However I recall having a serious disdussion with him ,not so much as regards to the forces it represented and its viability, but its significance --particularly in that it recognized all tendencies and that touchstone--the Trotskyists And so we wrote it up--then carried on with the May Day meeting. With the May Day meeting Dick tended to think it has pretty well expended itself-- I do not have the material at hand but I recall there was an important discussion which would define its general class character --our comrades played a good role but the outcome of the discussion showed the popular frontist character of it

Of course the electoral program advanced by the CP is impossible. A cursory study of the Jan 5 minutes and the program that we think necessary leaves a good impression. And possibly the fight over this besides being extremely educational may settle the whole thing--blow the proposition up.

Yes it would be absolutely impossible if the CP were the only force in the CCMG to actually present candidates. Of course such a situation would effectively settle any and all debates on program---the Cr would never accept decisions forced upon it by revolutionists--and carry them to the public. And why should it. The RIN is probably going to have to run candidates everywhere-and wont be part of any blo

As weak as the CP is --it is probably the most effective group in the CCMG --what is the PSQ--and what is the Chevaliers--so then there is the MLP and us. What role is the MLP going to play? that is the BIG question, it seems to me. There is real danger that the CCMG will merely become a cover for the CP's electoral activity. I think that it is unfortunate that the CCMG is starting to move in this direction of electoral activity--sort of substituting itself for the labor party which is certainly underway.

Do we really think that the NDP will fail to present itself in the coming provincial election? Of course it is possible---I have read the quotes of Cliche. But first our talks is to help clear the way--push and shove for the creation of a labor party--and of couse we want to discuss its program. from whereever we are and were ever we can. This should be a primary area of discussion in the MLP I suppose you saw the quotes of Maheu and Valliers in the Jan 10 Tribune. Maheu says we are going to be forced to vote RIN and instead of talking about a labor party open to all tendencies--which probably would adopt a reformist program- he talks of a socialist party vs a social democratic party as coming out of the QFL. He ends up--the most important question is socialism. Yes, of course--but the most important way to pose this is to launch the class off into independent labor (yes reformist probably--although we will fight program without ultimatum) labor political action. Vallieres--well he is against a legal party---for a tribune and boycott elsewhere--or confusing to say support to the RIN.

We should make our position very clear---that we are for a labor party and for one this coming election--and we should scream and holler for it--at the labor council and everywhere else--with leaflets--put a fire under the QFL. We dont want any substitutes. But failing the labor party well--we want an alternative that leads this way. why can't the labor council act in the Montreal area in an interim capacity

The question is ---will the CCMG lead in this direction--will it make propaganda for this--or is it to be merely a front for several CP candidates--- I dont see how we can at all be interested in that

And the area of debate on ideas that most interest me is not at some little gathering where J?M. Bedard and a few others get together but in the MLP meetings.

I hope these comments are of some value.

I am enclosing another copy of the Vanguard--seems to me that there are a couple of articles that could be readily used--- the poverty article --tho it is terribly long. Art's article on the anti-war fight and the box on Winters which could easily be given a Quebec twist with a few lines.

The big meeting came off at the Teamsters---I gather that we forced reinstatement of Thibault and Merritt--but I had planned that we were going to take over the meeting and local---will let you know . Meantime [redacted] off to the Ottawa Embassy.

with socialist greetings Ross

Will read column closer — seems good - but inclined to knock off the newcomer in Montreal board - and risk it general — glad to get it

Montreal

Feb 8, 1966 — Tues

Dear Pat; (Mitchell) Joe Hansen, SWP Letter finished Sat, 4th arrived 16th

A fellow dropped in to the store today asking for you. I told him you were out of town then he came through with commetns that showed he knew you personally--so he told me to send his greetings on--his name is Len

This morning we got a sub in the mail from

Malcolm Campbell
Chambre 428, Seminaire
Ste-Therese de Blainville
Comte de Terrebonne, Quebec

He sent along another three subs one for M2M--May second movement in N.Y.--in fact all the subs were for N.Y. For your information.

Glad to see that you are shaking things up--that they are getting some concept of how to function. I see you sent Claire a note of appreciation--very good--as she dropped everything--is most anxious to help and a little appreciation is valuable.

Hope you got the tape ok. No hell as a speech. Were the questions and discussion recorded. The Maoists didn't open their traps after I challenged them and it was a provocative challenge--they are just no good. Smirking all during the meeting--now with Castro's latest attack on China I wonder what they are thinking. Since then we have the World Outlook article on Castro's speech and I am suprised to see that it says nothing about Guatamala --Casto's comments and partisanship of a liberal-democratic force as against the Sosa group seems to me one of the most significant sections of the whole speech. I will take this up with Joe when in NY next weekend.

Your letter has just arrived---by the way I passed your various bits of information along to Peter and he was very pleased.

The documents for the world congress no doubt were modified--we do not have copies of the final form--but they will be out in the Quatrieme International --the coming issue. There was one major action that may effect your discussion --you will recall the IB on Egypt--with Joe Hansen's contribution. Well I seem to recall that this aspect of the discussion was tabled and the document that provoked it withdrawn.

I meant to write you about the educational program. I think it would be very good if you were to go through Dick's article on the MLP in the current issue of the Vanguard--and of course the next issue with the final instalment. The reaction of the comrades to the Manifeste is very interesting. Dick, Claire Mike--in fact everyone who read it told me it was a terrific document--that in many ways it is ours. Claire the other day after translating it closely for the Quebec committee told me she was astonished how superficial it was. Dick when he really got down to it had the same reaction. Dick wrote up the article for the Vanguard. It appears substantially as he wrote it--however I made a whole series of marginal notes and suggested that it should be considerably re-written. As we got more and more into it--he finally told me that Mike and others had read it and agreed with it as its was--so I contented myself with modest changes.

Mike Mill
Dick F

unfortunaately my commen s were extended notes on the margin and so have been destroyed.

I think we should do a job on this Manifeste--friendly-educational but firm. We should use it to pose certain questions and answer them. Glad to see that Brian is dealing with the new left and that Mike is dealing with the union movement. and that Stella in the internal is dealing with parliamentarism. ..although Stells's should be a public forum it seems to me. But I hope that Mike's isn't just informtional but takes up the MLP tendencies--that Brian's isn't abstract but concrete and deals with the MLP tendency

This is the way that we are going to build some influence in the MLP-not by being palsy walsy but by putting forward a Marxist-Leninist contribution by appearing as a current which we are andm ust become inside there. We have topush Mike to get MLPers down to our discussions

Glad to see that the next issue is now well on the way. I thought that the last issue was ecellent --yet it had only two articles from Montreal--Dick's and Mike's. Why two articles should present us with any really great difficulty I do not know. And I dont see why we need more than two. As you probably know Dick's intention is to follow developments there very d osely-- Sibce we write artid es bout Rhodesia from Toronto I think we can take a few about Quebec from Edmonton As for Claire she will fall all over herself to do anything you ask.

I had to drop this letter --went to the NY plenum over the weekend--here it is 9;45 M onday night.

The final documents of the world congress willbe appearing in the coming ISR complete. The Frecnh versi on of Dynamics is through the press--gone to the binders and is supposed to be back by Wednesday---hope to have some in your hands by the big weekend affairs. Wez All in all a very high quality job. We could not enlarge the copy as Montreal hoped as the printing job wasmuch too poor and would only have shown up much worse. We broke it up - gave more white space by splitting the paragraph lead lines--the hypenation is wrong probablyi n some pla ces --stupidly I never askedClaire. But it is very good and is just what we want down there.

We certainly wouldlike a report of the Montreal demonstration and any photos you can get. Unless there is something truly astonishi g however I dont thinkwe want much copy----about 2 pages

Mike going on full time. Yes we certainly cant afford to have him give us ultimatums. His reasons for opposing Dick....he never gave any but it was apparent to me that it was jealousy. How could anyone have seriously opposed Dick devoting full time---he was not asking for any financial aid--in fact I do not even know that he was asking for the formal title---as I got it Mike considered it was a calamity that he even have the free time in the Montreal area to function i n this capacity. I could send you along the correspondence-- no secrets--but I dont think they will do anything for you.

I do not see how the case can be made that we need a full timer for the p ublication of La Lutte. We only need a couple of Quebec articles-- and ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ Mike doesn't even need to write them both---and certai nly doesn't need to trans late them or other planned articles--with Claire--with that fellow who used to live in Quebec city--that ~~xxx xxxxxxxx~~ MLrer who helpd with the French of the previous issue-I just cant accept the idea that we cannot get such a paper out ~~once~~ every three months without a full timer--when you have such a technician as John D.

Let Mike first prove himself--I am truly astonished that he didn't pick up

unemployment insurance. Mike hasn't proved himself to be a mature personpolitically and a mature person otherwise. Hell it was not a two months ago that he was liquid ating us--and not one month ago that he was saying that we cannot say anything on Quebec. And while we do not require an organizer to win any popularity contest--I dont think there ismuch respect for Mike among the Montreal comreas--so little in fact that I would think it would be very difficult for him to function well. Yes I think your comments about a functioning MLP fraction are well taken.

I think that the matter of branch resources are fairly crucial. Is the branch in a financial position to sustain a full timer --even with help. I would doubt this however I do not know what resources it has. Can the branch cintemplate that with an organizer there will be a qualitative leap forward for us at this time---and is Mike the person ????

Yes, I feel sure that we are prepared to subsidize a Montreal organizer ---but the proposition has to be spelled out and the gains that would come from such an action speculated on.. The branch would have to show us what it can provide--and what it would expect from us. At the coming convention we will probably end the situation where no one has helped to sustain the center other than through the financial drive. This will be necessary particularly if we decide to go into a twicemonthly Vanguard --the branches will have to start kicking in. So in reality Montreal has to project a perepctive-- show us what would come out of such a subsidy--that we could make real and concrete gains of such a character that within a certain time we could anticipate that we would eliminate the subsidy and then start the flow the other way--this way.

I would think that you are highly qualified or will be shortly to assess Mike's capacity this way better than anyone else after the past month's experiences. Let Mike put himself forward and let's have a frank discussion on the situation as it now presents itself--our financial shape, our activity, our contacts and how much an action as having a fulltime worker would qualititively change things for us and then if we still want to go on-make a proposition to the center for so much

But in my opinion the work of the paper can hardly loom large in this scheme as long as we only come out once in two or once in three months. To make it a big factor would only convince me of the inefficiency of those who advance the argument. I am not questioning that probably Mike will prove to be the person who will have to eventually go on staff--but I think he has to grow somewhat

Hard for me to suggest how it should be handled--possibly the next meeting should discuss the matter of a formal organizer--or is Mike this now already. If he is then perhaps the branch should discuss the proposition that Mike'appears to be prepared to present--from the point of need, of possibilities and then finances. If a subsidy is wanted then this whole thing should be presented for consideration by the center.Of course the first requisite is that he work unemployment insurance to the hilt.--or that he get a part time job as Jerry did as a move in the direction desired. It would mark a big stride forward for the movement should you all agree and should Mike meet and respond to your confidence--for of course we really do need a fulltimer in Montreal

Re the cut service--we have paid Canada Wide and La Presse so we can move in on them again. Usually we have got one column cuts from the Star Synidicate for $1--not three each. As for the three column student item the old Star syndicate price for a matix was anout $3 to $4 --the casting costing anothe three possibly. So the job was expensive but in my opinion well worth it

Shortly — If you can Sam help us it would be good to have
But but — Read the bio both tired — Warm regards Don

BH 1966 MR

Draft copy

March 12, 1966

Brock-D.F.

La Ligue Socialiste Ouuriere.

Dear Comrades;

The League for Socialist Action will be holding its convention in Toronto over the weekend of May 21,22,23

Over the past couple of years a considerable number of members of the LSA have been transfered from membership in the LSA into membership in the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere to carry on the work of building the forces of Canadian Trotskyism

The national question has been of greatconcern to us all--and in particular as it concerns the formal relations of one organization to the other. Over the past period several decisions have been made relating to this matter and so too have some public statements been made on this matter. There has been some disagreement amongst us as to the thought-out character, even the correctness of some of these statements and decisions. In a sense all these moves were tentative-- until such times as we could document our views on the Quebec question in its totality and on the specific question of a Quebec section of the Fourth International as distinct from the already formally recognized section as its exists in the LSA.

Among the documents being presented for the consideration and disposal of the convention is one that you have already received wirtten by comrade Brock. We look upon this document as initiating a common discussion and are looking forward to your full participation. Within a matter of days we will be presenting a document outlining what may well be adopted as our outgoing national committees opinion on LSO-LSA relations. We of course anticipate your participation in this discussion--which of course cannot be left on that plane. If the Quebec document can be left over--it may even have to be left over in the favor of a continued discussion-it seems apparent to us that the same cannot hold for the discussion on LSO-LSA relations. Some very concrete and definite decisions will have to be taken on this matter.

There is of course the obvious need to formalize our relations with one another so that we can present the most powerful common front against English-Canaian capitalism and its political power center located in Ottawa. And of course there are other matters such as the question of affilliate relations on the international plane The LSA is the Canadian section of the Fourth International and the leadership of the international is not authorized (even should it think it correct to do so) to recognize any other body in Canada as constituting in anyway a section. without our agreement

It is obvious this organizational matter (LSO-LSA) realiotns)should be solved in harmony with the great ocmplex of ideas that we hold a common viewpoint on. With this in mind we suggest that the LSA pre-convention discussion be a common--be an LSA-LSO discussion. We also suggest that the LSO elect delegates to the LSA convention.

Within a couple of weeks we will be forwarding you information as to the basis of representation on LSA branches at the LSA convention. Should a delegation based on such data be considered by you as improper we would advise that you elect such a delegation as you consider to be proper which could appear before the credentials committee and the convention itself for its consideration.

The above matter was discussed at the meeting of the political committee. I would appreciate your discussing this matter and giving us your opinion on it so that I can transmit it to the coming meeting of the political committee of the LSA.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

L cumberland
Toronto 5, Ont.
March 14, 1966

Dear Pat; (M. Tarell)

Sorry to be so long in taking up your letter--managed to get off a cou le of items to Mike---~~xxxxxxx~~ in the form of two formal letters to the LSO--one on the LSO request that you stay there and the other on this whole question of the comnig LSA convention and how we think the LSO should relate to it.

Dont let that unanimous decisionrecommendation of the Toronto executive that you come back go to your head. I attended the executvie meeting on Sunday to explain why the PC cut right across their decision---Frank commented that I was apologizing--and asked why-for as far as he was concerned they had only to say their view as far as it affected their juridiction and it was up to us to think in terms of the national picture. ~~XXXX

Art is not too well organized in details---he tends to also sort of give up in encouraging and pushing comrades--and after a certain effort rides on % into the project which it so happens we usually conquer but at the expsase ofmyself, himself and a few others.

We are having so far to carry the main effort on the Ottawa march. Everyone is in favor of it but they are afraid that it will move out of their old little sectarian circle--so they favored a headquarters in principle but did nothing to get one--then when we presented them with stores etc always found them too small, poorly located, too much. Finally I gave Sheila the money and we went out and rented one and faced them with a fact. Same with the printed leaflet, Here they are investing almost $4,000 in a train and gagging on 90 dollars for a leaflet--Peter has had to push and shove weedle and deal. He is a bit of an emotional wreck but it looks like he will survive. Spira ripped into him at one of the co-ordinating meetings in a scandalous way then after phoned him here to tell him that he and Fowlie are being Trotsky-baited along with Gerry Gallagher so he felt it necessary to do a job on Peter--for which he was profoundly apologetical------- The poster was worked out by Tony--the leaflet put through at Merchants----Sheila is devoting full time thanks to our treasury and the felxibility of the youth to looking after the headquarters. But everything seems to be moving- tonight we will know for sure if the NDY leadership is coming though with the money that they had promised--they appear to be fearful of being part of a project that Communist are identified with and the latestis that they are formally going to hire three coaches for their own use where their kind of people in to sit---it is not clear at this time whether they will lock the door to keep other passengers from touching them Needless to say we will be there is full numbers selling the Vanguard and the YSF--which Harry is running right now a few feet from me.

When I told Jim M about your willingness--your feeling more useful as you put it there. He got a charge out of it. Pleased as punch--- seems to see you as his protege, warmed up by every preformance. Tells me that given the situation you will probably become a big leader.

Can help but say I am pleased myself. The results of your stay there are obvious--I am sure that everyone knows that we would not have sold the parade in any quantity--that we would not have pushed Le dialectique to the success that it already is--or that we would have got past a few perfunctory meetings and perhaps a social...and then a sliding back into a rut . So now there are some real possibilities of our turning up contacts, educating some new elements, picking up some French speaking revolutionists and building a functioning branch...and giving the comrades we now have a chance to develop

au demain

Tony - ? Tori F?
Sheila S ?
Jim M

March 17m 1966
1 Cumberland

Montreal

Dear Pat; (Mitchell)

Unfortunately I have not yet had a chance to finish or continue on with the last letter. Reveiver yours yesterday and have just read it. We had to sweep everything aside yesterday--both Art and I-because of bad administration with the NDP Socialist Cuacus bulletin and concentrate our time to get it out. A further complication has been the demnd that the bulletin drop the ~~thim~~ initials NDP from its mastehead and nowthe passage by the provincial council of a three pronged resolution in essence banning the caucus. But more on that later.

I rush to answer your queries re LSA-LSO relations. First I am suprised that Mike would take PC minutes to the exeuctive-- they are not the property of the executive at all and of course a letter had to go out to the exexutive of the LSO. The minutes weredated the 7th but I think they were mailed later and I see my letter to the LSO is dated March 12--I think that the gap is only a few days but I guess in the future I will have to hold the minutes back when they involve such matters ,and involve Mike, until the explanatory letter gets off.

I do not know whether you have seen the March 12 letter to the LSO-- probably by now Mike has shown it to you. And I donot know whether you think that it adequately makes our case. Of course we need Dick's document on LSO/LSA relations because it takes up the whole question of whether it is correct to constitute a Quebec section. Dick who was once strong for this and I believe was the person responsible for the announcement of the LSO as the Quebec section for the FI has changed his mind on this whole matter. For sometime we were anticipating hearing from the FI on this question and thro Joe and now Ernest M we have-- not a document--for they are probably waiting for ours or yours but a firm opinion. The quotation of Lenin was sent to me by Ernest M--they just take it as a matter of course that there is not basis for a Quebec section. Mike now appears to concede that there is nothing in Leninism to sustain this concept---in an agry letter to me he points out that Lenin never understood or was it accepted the theory of the permanent revolution at the time of his writings on the national question and the formation of the Russian Bolshevik movement which was not in anyway constructed to redognize the various nationalalities with their ancient language cultural,etc traditions. The quite I sent you answers this extremely incisively, gives nothing at all, but in fact slashingly rejects Mike's views.

I think that it is most important that our relations not be exacerbated I can see how the mimutes can be interpreted but they dont say what some comrades claim they do- If they have become the property in argument of everyone then everyone should know exactly what they say.

Here we are about to circulate a document addressed to our convention - to the LSA-and I have assumed to the LSO, rejecting the idea that Trotskyism should be organized in Quebec along a completely indepent structure. Our convention is going to take a stand on this question. I do not see that this

question can be delayed longer.

Unfortunately Mike has a contrary viewpoint and has been behind a whole series of actions that tend to reflect his view--actions ~~thane~~ unilateraly from Montreal and actions ~~thaen~~ by the P.C. which tend to sustain his view. ---such as the move we took to formally drop Dick from the PC and relegate him formally to some fraternal status. There are others.

The fact is that all these are now largely irrelevant--now we have a convention--now we have a document which is up for adoption or modification or rejection by the convention. Perhaps some heads will roll as a consequence of these decisions. I dont know. The fact is that a decision is now to be made.

That is what in essence the minutes say. Is the decision on this vital question to be made by the forces of Canadian Trotskyism or is it to be made unilaterally by the LSO. THAT IS TE QUESTION. We want the decision to be made by all the Canadian Trotskyists in convention. How ~~xxxxxx~~are the Montreal Trotskyists going to get to this convention? Well we say for the purposes of getting there we are asking you to accept the status of a branch--asking---~~iXX~~ And if you think that representation is inadequate that you elect what you want---the representation ~~xxx~~ that you elect may be of such a character as to in essence declare a totally different relatiOn ship. ~~XXXXX~~ But come to the convention--present your demands and they will be resolved by the ~~v~~redntials committee--~~pXXXXXXX~~ by the convention as a whole through the discussion on the LSO-LSA relations document

If Montreal Trotskyists come as fraternal delegates then they are in advance declaring their relationship. I dont know what they would consider such a decisoon involved.....that they are only going to listen in--give their opinion but not commit themselves to recognize the authority of the convention and its decisions ???? Then again they may figure such an act ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ is in some way only for the record--to meet , to head off nationalist sentiments that are not friendly to our Leninist concept of the national question and its reflection in our organizational structures.

Should Montreal decide to send fraternal delegates with the understanding that they will not be bound by the decisions of the convention--well they should consider ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ exactly what that spells out. Not bound by the decisions of the convention? What decisions??? That should be spelled out. That may well mean a unilateral declaration of autonomy, of independence I do not know what this would do for a discussion--whether there could even be a discussion with such terms already imposed on it. I would doubt that an LSA convention would submit to what might be characterized as a form of political ultimatism-Blackmail.

It seems clear to me, in so far as the Montreal comrades consider themselves to be Trotskyists that they have to come as delegates.

We said ~~xxxxxxx~~ in the minutes that ~~W~~ we consider the LSO at the present time a branch of the LSA." No other relationship has been established --that is formally. If Mike wants to hold fast on various moves that suggest otherwise OK. You will note that we did not say that the LSO is a branch--rahter we said we consider it to be so from the point of view of the convention. Possibly some other formula ~~W~~ould be worked out but I do not see why it is such a big issue. For any comrade who feels it to be so --isn8t the pre-convention discussion the big matter and then the convention itself. And suppose the convention decided contrary to this viewpoint--is he going to take the stand that this matter is of such importance that he is prepared to not only withhold a pledge of commitment in advance but pull out

Before the LSO gets caught up in some tricky formula it should consider if not the probability, the very real possibility that the rest of the Trotskyists in this country called Canada with its established centralized state will take a position that Quebec Trotskyists belong in a Canadian section--and they should consider that the Fourth International will uphold that viewpoint that there will be no such thing as a Quebec section of the Fourth International. They should consider that-and not put themselves in any position that it is impossible to get out of. Perhaps the rest of the Canadian Trotskyists and the international leadership may be wrong but is this so key, so crucial that we cannot go through a continued experience? I would hope so.

If Mike thinks that Lenin is even wrong on this matter--ok--let him not only educate the LSO, but the LSA and the entire world movement too boot. I take for granted that that can best be done by not by presenting ultimatums but letting the movment go through a fraternally conducted educational experience.

I have glanced through the letter that I wrote on behalf of the Pc to the LSO and I think that it stands up to your criticism--so I am convinced that you had not seen it when you wrote your letter . I happen to have a first draft copy of this letter so I am sending it along for you to read I dont think you should let anyone know that you have it. It would be unfortunate if Montreal comrades started to look upon you as somekind of agent of the LSA. Mike received this letter. You can certainly know that I sent it--and if he says that it has not arrived through mail difficulties I will send a copy to the LSO secretary.

Yes, I think that it asnwers what would be a legitimate complaint on your part if it had not been sent--all the more in that Mike has apparently presented a very schematic picture of our viewpoint from the minutes.

But it is now 5;30---nothing but interruptions this afternnon --the Cuban consul-- who I am anxious to be friendly with in view of the fact tha that Vern has been badly disoriented by developments recently and has had no connection of anykind since the day the consul embarassedly gave him the copy of the anti-Trotskyist speech andhurried away. then many others.

And I want you to get this note before the weekend--sending it special delivery which I gather gets it there Saturday morning.

Incidently Alan and Connie are in the US for a visit. I am writing today to ask them to consider coming back via Montreal --to stop in on you --sorry that I did not think of it before.

warmest regards

Koss

Alan Harris

Maybe I will be too late

I sent the letter on the convention along with the formal letter on your request — both are dated Mar 12/66

Montreal May 9, 1966

Dear Pat (Mitchell) Dick F

Well it will be good if Mike does get the document off. But it will be best that it be typed up there on stencils. Dont know how you are fixed--whether you are getting another copy of the La Lutte out but we do not have a typist anything as good as John D--and Carson will be working on the NDP document in a couple of days. I see no reason why I should see it before anyone else.

Acutally Dick is the person who we want to see it just as soon as possible. The EC discussed the agenda last night--not the order, and the reporters, and I have been struck off to report on LSO-LSA relations--Dick on the discussion in general on Quebec. He seems to me to be most qualified on all counts. But If in some way Dick could be given some idea of the main points of the document it would of course be beneficial--but I do not think we should in anyway infringe om Mike's right to present the document as a whole and entirely thro the N.O.

What is the basis of your present pessimistic mood? My god it is really fine / We got in my opinion a first rate document already--Dick's-on LSO-LSA relations. The south has ordered copies for all NC members--the IEC thanked us for it and says that it wanting to follow the discssion closely. Nothing but good can come out of this---we will tape the discussion I think. Marks a real intellectual break through for our movement--even as it is --and more is certain to come

Hoping you can spare the time to get the FI minutes done before the convention if possible. Today we did one of the other documents. Had Claire trnaslate about 4 pages that were in French. I was again astonished by the translations. While she talks excellently she just doesn't know English-- leaves out phrases, sometimes most important ones, misses nuances. Some of them so stalled me that I took time out which we can ill afford to go through the whole thing. And it was good that I did.

Mike sent in an article on the PSQ, too late for the paper and I dropped him a note that to use it we would now have to have at least a lengthy lead on the elections . He hasn't replied. But how about you doing something on the union situation--really terrific isn't it . Dick was indignant that there was no coverage in our 6 pages

Didn't know that Bob and Marilyn were there until Mike asked for a transfer Then Bob told me that he thought he might have to go as his connection s in Toronto went kaplosh. Good that he is there--as you say he will probe all ideas and very honestly present his own--and wont tolerate any snears as to his honest suggestions ,questions, and proposals.

Got a phone call from Peter all the way from Montreal about the meeting the other night --hope I did not seem impatient. At anyrate tossed off a couple of lines to the LSO to the effect that actually it is the convention that determines the order of the agenda--however that we were certainly prep ared as suggested that the Quebec items be far down on the agenda.

Penny 40
Sheila S
Joan N

Getting the tour underway. This time the team will be composed of Carroll Oleniuk. John Ledjerman and Penny from Vancouver along with Art. Had a bit of a crisis over Art--mostly from Art but everything seems to have strathened out alright. Probably the executive will bring Sheila and possibly Joan N right into the thick of things and we will scrape along--who knows maybe even do better--it will be a good experience for Art I think although it wasn't too good for Hans last year. If you have the time you might drop a note of congratualtions to Art. You should have heard how they swept my and your tangle over you as branch organizer into the discussion

and last tour

The convention is going to be a big success. The Vancouver delegation is going to be really big--at least 7. Everyone in Toronto is looking forward to it --and I must break way to get the NDP document out.

Hope you got the trade union document ok.

Looking forward to seeing you in a couple of weeks.

warmest regards

Ross

John D is getting better and better with the La Lutte--where is the limit.? Havent had a chance to read it yet--or anything else lately but scanned the one on the CP on us. Didn!t care for the tone--it seemd to positively rejoice that they had condecended to notice us and have conceded that we are "natives"

I assume your French was good enough to be able to read it

Godd dales --how is the election coming --someone has to write us an d before the convention. Sent Dick your quizes--probably he has written you about them and my failure to write him.

July 17 1966

Bob R.
Mike Mill + wendy

Dear Pat;

As I suggested to Bob I think that we should cut Wendy out from being a courier for Mike. Let Mike speak to you as organizer--and if he is for some reason unwilling to do so let him write a note. And we can reply in kind.

I never suggested to Mike that he attend the forums. He asked me about using the files, in the headquarters. I told him that this was the Montreal branches business. I did not see why not. I do not see why we cant a range for him to come down and use the files some evenings when others of us are having to use the headquarters. Bu he might have raised the matter of the forums. If I am not istaken I did say something about the difficulties that this might pose. After all he is a person of some opinions and may well disagree with the speaker. It is pretty close to being political activity over which we insist upon our right to control. My own feeling is that we dont want him atthe forums unless he is raising the matter of the termination of his leave of absence--and then we will talk about the whole thing.

Bob expressed the opinion in a recent note that he is opposed to Mike being in the Montreal branch and that if he raises the matter of terminating his leave that he favores Mike coming to Toronto. I feel sympathetic to this idea. ~~with~~ There is the problem of Wendy being registered at McGill.

Interesting that Bob S says no one at the PSQ meetings has said a word about Mike's not being around. o you think that it is possible that he didn't play the role that he told us he did. But away wit it--- we should be able to handle Mike very easily---it is a chicken shit matter in light of the big problems confronting us.

Told Jim that you are waiting for his letter

Glad to hear that you are coming in July 26. I will see if I can arrange a PC meeting for that night. John will be in this coming Tuesday from his holidays. Why dont you write your father to have supper with him--and then we will see how that night worked out for everyone--if it does you have had some time with him and if it doesn't you can have the evening eh what.

TC Douglas sent a note into the Alexander Committee to the effect that he would be pleased to be a sponsor. I am going to get Regual to make a press release on the Lee tour with this tied into it.

Regula apparently hasn't heard from anyone on the tour except NB. What gives in ontreal. Did the NBers drop in on you.

comradely

Ross

September 12, 1967

Peter Schultz

Dear Pat; (Mitchell)

I understand that you and Peter have been tossing back and forth in your mind the idea of leaving Montreal for new challenges and opportunities.

When you come to make a decision I want you to be sure to consider Hamilton ---the purpose of this short note. As you know this area has a top priority for the movement. Not only because it is a key industrial city which our movement cannot afford to continue to ignore if we are serious about the struggle in this country but because it is so close to Toronto and any comrades colonized there could obtain a great deal of help from the Toronto branch.

No doubt you noticed the item in the Vanguard of two issues ago about the draftsmen's protest against strikbreaking moves by the UE on Westinghouse. This incident involved John Steele's father who was in charge of the draftsmens local. He has since been put on trial and expelled from the CP . We do not know what repercussions this is having in the CP there which still functions in the TU arena. On Labor Day four of the comrades went into Hamilton and they sold more to the parade there than we did here although Toronto's was at least 6 times larger.

We have been searching our ranks for proper persons to colonize there. In my opinion it has to be a couple of comradres--preferably man and wife--comrades who will settle in for a period. We have been discouraging the odd comrade who sees the challenge and wants to go in because it is not a matter of picking up something already there and consolidating. It is a matter of setting up shop on a serious basis. Usually these comrades have been young also.

We have been talking this over here and have agreed to Fred C seeking a transfer within the railway to the Hamilton yards. He thinks that it will not be long before a job appears on the board for bid--and he is willing to go. This is very good as Fred has developed considerably over the past year---particularly since the strike of the RR workers in which he played a very fine role. As you know Fred is fully prepared to do the more or less prosaic work necessary to get things underway. But we are searching for a couple. John and Sheila would be ideal but it so happens we just are not in a position to let them go as anxious as they are to do so. ---particularly John in light of the key role he plays on the labor council.

You and Peter are perfect it seems to me--so when you come to think more concretely in terms of leaving for new fields would you give Hamilton a really Serious consideration.

I wont describe the scenic beauties of the Hamilton marsh, the gardens, etc--you know them well..... just the politics of it which are really vital.

comradely

Ross

November 6, 1966

Bob R
Jean-Pierre (LCR-France)

Montreal

Dear Pat; (Mitchell)

Yes we got Bob's note on the LSO forums--the books that were borrowed on Hungary

As I told you over the phone I had a fairly lengthy discussion with Jean-Pierre and Edith. Under the circumstances I t ink that it was a good idea that they came here---for a few days. Gives the opposition a few minutes to think things over under circumstances of more calm. They told me a day or so after the talk--the latter one---that they will be leaving this coming Wednesday --On their way back they will stop off and distribute last issue of the Vanguard at the Kingston assembly of the OFL. They plan to get a place more removed from previous circles. Since it would appear that Edith's father is capable of a very serious act--possibly murder--I told them that they must consider in all seriousness consider getting a court order against him---even have him incarverated. As for Bob who I understand has even gone to the lengths of offering to pay J-P's fare back to France--- should he not change his attitude I told them we will have to take action against him. I gather that he has threatened J/P's life. Possibly t is was done in the heat of a moment. However if he so much as says anything like this and then does not retract I am for expelling him. Imagine if he carried it out. We cannot even have this kind of threat hanging over us. If he cannot conduct himself in a mature manner the least we will have to do is give him a leave of absence. What you say is absolutely intolerable--and he must know not just what one or the other of us as individuals think of it but what we as a movement think of it.

Interested to hear of the discussion with the fellow who was on the staff of the PSQ on the labor party question. I take it you have copies of the other pamphlet that we put out here by Trotsky on the labor party. Of course we want the labor party--the party of the class to have a revolutionary program and a revolutionary leadership. If there is any possiblity of this development going this way it is in its formative period when the matter of its program is up for debate, when the character of its leadership has not been firmly decided. The NDP in the rest of Canada is already formed and with a hard reformist leadership. When we first moved around it we tried to project the possibilites of assuring it being otherwise. While this possiblity was finished somewhile back, if it ever existed--it was only at the last convention that we formally wrote finis to this period--the formative period. The character of the labor party is by no means settled in Quebec. This depends on many factors---but first the very nature of the national question puts an unfinished character to it regardless of the situation in the rest of Canada, the possiblity of it taking on a revolutionary program and accepting a revolutionary leadership or at least something more approximating such is better in Quebec than anywhere. This depends on what the revolutionaries do--what their atittude is to it--whether they move in on it . Of course if they stand on the outside and without their intefvention demand that it have a revolutionary program and leadership before they will make a move you can be almost sure that it will have none of these qualities. Yes we want the labor party to be revolutionary--that it why we formulated the idea of the PSQ and others participating along with the NDP in its formation.

I annont see any problem here that Mike could ossibly object to our settling. Are we not talking about what our comrades within the NDP should be saying. What the paper says is another thing. It need not be committed to the idea that the present NDP is the vehicle

Of course ~~xxxy~~ in so far as they are members of the NDP as it now is they should be pushing it--pushing it to approach the PSQ, the CSN, to launch a mass labor party formation---but in the meantime it exists in its own right, and ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ inevitably tends to spread out to running in every federal riding and logically moving out on the provincial plane. ~~xxx~~those elements in the NDP who are locking for some kind of bloc with the Lesage Liberals or some wing of the Liberals Levesque would naturally be holding back on the party going into the provincial arena on any scale. We want to do battle with this tendency and ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ one of the best ways would be to push the party out provincially under its own label. The only factor that would hold us back in a way would be to not present the PSQ, the MLP , the CSN with a fait accompli, ~~we~~ would not want to inform them that they have to throw in the sponge and join the NDP or in the case of the CSN the FTQ. We would ~~xxxxxxxx~~ be prepared to take certain organizational adjustments that would allow the radical currents to get togtehr with the NDP forces to launch a much more formidable party that would encompass all the left forces--and in particular those forces that would line up with us Trotskyists who are in the NDP in the struggle to give the aborning party a revolutionary program and a revolutionary leadership.

So while we are for the NDP as NDPers to move in boldly into the provincial arena--- we ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ still do not say in Quebec that the NDP is the labor party--although it possess the labor party because of the situation in the rest of Canada where it is the labor party---a reformist labor party. The labor party has yet to be launched in Quebec ---it would of necessity have to establish some formal relationship with the NDP in the rest of Canada.

Does Mike oppose the NDP running provincially because it tends to make it the force around which the labor party will form. Well I doubt that our efforts in this respect would stop the process or play any decisive roll in impelling it forward. We dont have many numbers and at best at this stage an aggressive policy would bring the best elements around us who oppose any dilly-dallying with the Liberals. From where I sit I think this is the more likely question around which this matter of entering provincial elections is being posed.

No I did not raise this matter with the PC. It is diffiuclt for the PC to intervene in such a matter without any documentation. Possibly you are going to present a short yes a short document on this. Let Mike reply. Perhaps he will go along--as he often has when the showdown takes place. Then he may refer the matter to the PC in the belief that the LSO is not to decided such a matter--well we could handle it very well at that stage. Perhaps your document and his will come in for a discussion. Then the PC could make its own comment on the politics of it

Yes I did manage to pull something together on the early history of the movement. It what on tape. And it is out of my control. I thought that Brenda took it down with her I have just asked Jackie about it and she thinks that it is still in the YSF house. She promises to bring it up. I hope to have a chance to listen to it to see if we want it circualating around. I had to give the forum the night before so I dont ttink it is much good.

As far as I can see it is a matter of indifference to us whether we have the meeting on Saturday morning or Sunday. I assume that none of us are really heavily involved in the FPCC banquet. ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ There is only one point here that might bother us--- Nomination day is the Monday and it might be convenient to have all meetings cleared away on the Saturday.

"ope this take up the pressing matters--mustbwrite Dick who is probably having ulcers over the neglect. Hope to have the paper off in your hands for the November 11 and 12. Finished the writing tonight---now the tyepsetting has to be done then I work on the layout and heads. Could have worked on temporary layout tonight but thought I would get this away.

comradely

Ross